

7

**How Germany
seeks to justify her atrocities**



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

How Germany seeks to justify her atrocities

by

JOSEPH BÉDIER

Professor at the "Collège de France"

Translated by J. S.



LIBRAIRIE ARMAND COLIN

103, Boulevard Saint-Michel, PARIS, 5^e.

1915

How Germany seeks to justify her atrocities

In a pamphlet entitled *German Atrocities from German evidence*, I published extracts from about thirty diaries taken from prisoners of war. In these diaries the German soldiers depict themselves or their companions in arms as incendiaries, robbers and murderers who, however, in ordinary circumstances, only burn, rob and murder to order and in the course of their military duty.

This pamphlet, which was published towards the beginning of January, spread through the world with great rapidity in thousands of copies; and while this was happening the German press maintained profound silence on the subject.

At last this silence has been broken. On the 28th February a seven column article which pretended to be a refutation of my pamphlet appeared in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Almost immediately attention was drawn to the article by a wireless message from the Nauen wireless station, and on the 24th March a second wireless telegram gave a general direction to the Germanophile press throughout the world to produce frequent references to the article. And in fact in the most widely separated countries innumerable papers and

pamphlets in every language are constantly publishing it, or sommaires and paraphrases of it, or comments on it, but it is a remarkable instance of discipline that these papers and pamphlets never had anything to add, so that the whole German defence is contained in the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

This defence is a very simple one and is confined to stating that the pages of the diaries produced by me are, in themselves, very innocent, and it is only when I translate them into French that they appear incriminating as a result of clever garbling of the sense or of the ingenious selection of incomplete quotations.

It does not seem to me likely that this kind of defence will have any effect on those of my readers who know German and who can compare the translation of each text with the original. At any rate it could have no influence in those countries where German is the prevailing language, on those who have in their hands not the French edition of my pamphlet but the German edition in which of course there is not a single word of French.

It is otherwise with readers who do not know German, and the manœuvre was devised — not without some astuteness — for the benefit of these alone. However disposed they may be to welcome the truth they will open my pamphlet with suspicion if any success attends the attempt to make them believe that the facsimiles laid before them are deceptive, and that I am making them read in French, or that my translators are making them read in Italian, Spanish or Swedish, something different from what the German soldiers say in their own tongue.

Fortunately it is very easy to dispel this danger. The following pages are addressed expressly to those of my readers who are ignorant of German, or do not know it well. I propose to set out and discuss all the criticisms of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* with the result that it will be plain to everyone that in my first pamphlet there is but one expression (on page 26) by the employment

of which, in consequence of a mistake as to the meaning of a word (namely, *Granaten* which was translated as “bombs” while the true meaning is “shells”) I unwittingly put a wrong sense upon a story to the disadvantage of a German corps; that if in this instance the pharisees have been able to triumph, it is the only triumph of which they can boast; and that everywhere else, the German texts being usually very simple and easy to understand, there has not been and could not be any uncertainty of interpretation except as regards five or six short expressions of practically no importance. I will set out side by side the meaning given by myself to those five or six expressions, and the meaning given by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and it will then be open to those of my readers who do not know a word of German to choose if they like the interpretation of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in each case. I will go further than this! I will advise them to choose the German interpretation in each case; it will then appear still more clearly that, however one may choose to translate these few lines the vileness of the deeds recorded in their context remains the same.

But those who have started this ridiculous side issue would be only too happy if I were to limit myself here to discussing grammatical niceties. They were indeed most unwise to try to extract here and there in the text of my pamphlet some doubtful expression, for I had warned them that I could substitute for any of these documents others which were of equal importance and no less odious. Since they have paid no heed to my warning I will make a fresh draft on the collection of German note-books. On every occasion on which they have presumed, by the criticism of some detail, to throw doubt upon the meaning of one of the texts, which I have already published, I will begin by showing the insignificance or falsehood of the criticism, and then, whenever it seems to be expedient, I will produce one or more fresh quotations in which other German soldiers will be

found to relate precisely similar crimes, with the same cynicism.

In order to be sure of placing a true interpretation upon these new quotations, I asked two of my friends and colleagues, both of them Alsacians, to translate them independently of me. These quotations are so clear that our three translations, which were wholly independent of one another, have throughout agreed in sense; they only differ in turns of phrase, and in these cases of infinitely small divergence, we made it a rule always to prefer the translation which was mildest and most favourable to the Germans. These fresh documents will, as I hope and believe, provoke fresh criticism. But, as in the case of the fable of the snake and the file, it will be useless to attack them : *offendes solido*.

I

MASSACRE IN A VILLAGE NEAR BLAMONT

In my previous pamphlet (p. 7-8) I published the following extract from a German diary :

“ The inhabitants fled through the village. It was horrible. Blood was plastered on all the houses, and as for the faces of the dead, they were hideous. They were all buried at once, to the number of sixty. Among them many old men and women, and one woman about to be delivered. It was a ghastly sight. There were three children who had huddled close to one another and had died together. The altar and the ceiling of the church had fallen in. They had been telephoning to the enemy. And this morning, 2 September, all the survivors were driven out, and I saw four little boys carrying on two poles a cradle in which was a child of five or six months old. All this was horrible to see. A blow for a blow. Thunder for thunder. Everything was pillaged... And I also saw a mother with her

two little ones: and one had a large wound in the head, and had lost an eye.”¹

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung makes no complaint with regard to the transcription and translation of this passage except with regard to the dots after the words “Everything was pillaged” “Alles wird geplündert...” The four words which follow are difficult to read, as anyone can see for himself from the facsimile annexed (Plate A, last

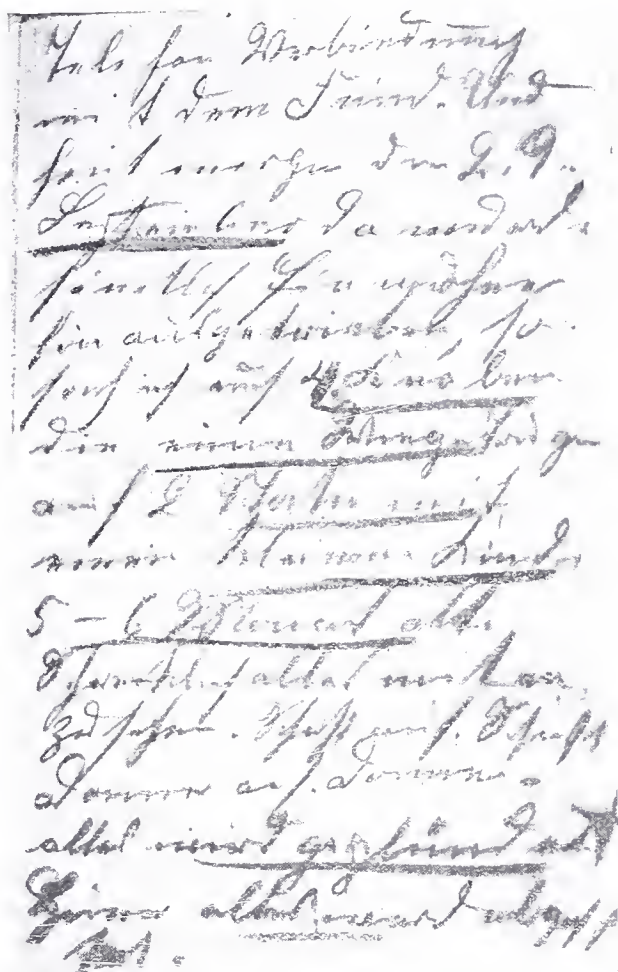


Plate A.

1. “ [Die Einwohner sind geflüchtet im Dorf. Da sa es] gräulich aus. Das Blut glebt an alle Baute, und was sa man für Gesichter, grässlich sa alles aus. Es wurde sofort sämtliche Tote, die Zahl 60, sofort beerdigt. Fiele alte Frauen, Väter und eine Frau, welche in Entbindung stand, grauenhaft alles anzusehen. 3 Kinder hatten sich zusammengefast und sind gestorbe. Altar und Decken sind eingestürzt. Hatte auch Telefon-Verbindung mit dem Feind. Und heut morgen, den 2. 9., da wurden sämtliche Einwohner hinausgetrieben, so sah ich auch 4 Knaben, die eine Wiege trugen auf 2 Stabe mit einem kleinen Kinde 5-6 Monat alt. Schrecklich alles mitanzusehen. Schuss auf Schuss! Donner auf Donner! Alles wird geplündert... (on the back :) Mutter mit ihren beiden Kinder, der eine hatte eine grosse Wunde am Kopf und ein Auge verloren.”

line). I was unable to decipher them. That was the only meaning of my dots. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which has found the true reading (Hü[h] ner alles “ward abges[chach] tet” “the poultry and everything else was killed”) thinks that I have “suppressed this end of the sentence because I should have run the risk of showing the innocent character of this looting of chickens and provisions.”¹

Did the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the other hand communicate the whole passage to its readers? Did it show them the corpses of the old women and men who had been murdered and the corpse of the pregnant woman? It took good care not to do so : it only showed them the slaughtered chickens.

This first example is enough to show the whole method of criticism. To start some ridiculous philological quibble at every opportunity when dealing with documents,

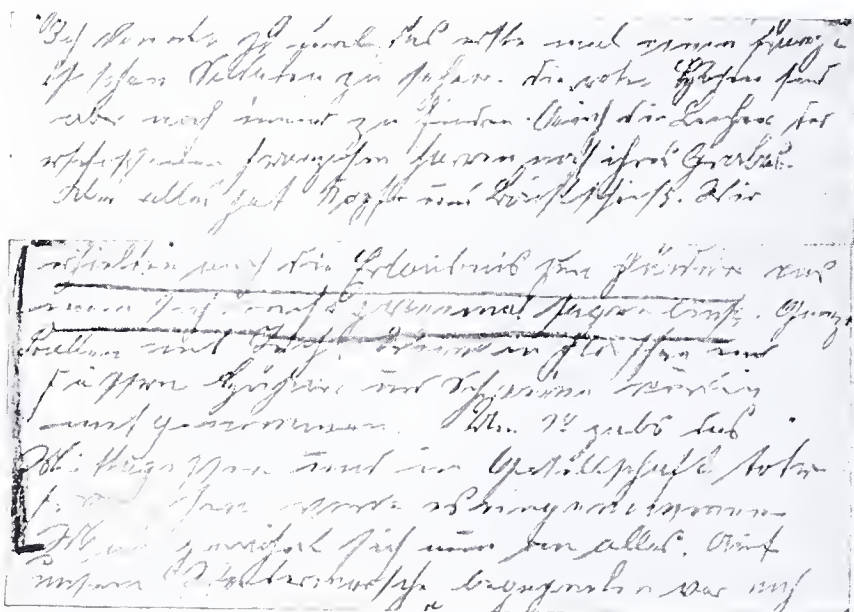


Plate B.

1. “Bédier unterschlägt den Rest des Satzes, weil er den harmlosen Charakter dieser Hühner und Esswaren. — “Plünderung” offenbaren könnte” (from the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*).

which prove the perpetration of infamous crimes; and to pass over the crimes themselves in silence — such are the tactics pursued from beginning to end of the article. In fact it is not necessary to know German in order to detect the character of this sordid prevarication (which is in itself a confession); good sense and good faith are enough.

But since this scene of the "looting of chickens and provisions" seemed "innocent" to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* I will submit to the criticism of that paper four other stories of looting whose "innocent character" it will no doubt endeavour to establish :

Am 24. Aug. Frösche
ganz verloren
Am 25. Aug. meiste
gefundene a. Geysee.
Kostspielig auf Gelbfeld
gefunden a. Geysee
Füßel unter den Fröschen
Tun so Lauter Deutsch.
Land Deutschland über
alle
nur Wein u. Wasser.
Größe Toldaten von der
Lage, gefunden, und
die Rüsse, die Toldaten
Opfer, Rüsse, Rüsse
u. d. Rüsse, Rüsse, Rüsse
auf den Toldaten
Lage, gefunden.

Plate C.

Diary of Stretcher-bearer-Joseph Ott (33rd. Division 16th Army Corps) (Plate B, p. 10) :

"23rd August. The corpses of the Frenchmen who have been killed still await burial. They have all been struck on the head or chest. We were given leave to loot and did not wait for the order to be repeated. Whole bundles of linen, wine in

bottles and casks, chickens and pigs were carried off. We had lunch at 1 o'clock and took it in the company of dead Frenchmen. One soon gets accustomed to everything." ¹

Diary of soldier H. Albers of the 78th Infantry Regiment, 10th Reserve Corps (Plate C, p. 11):

"25th August. At Berzée (south of Charleroi). News of the fall of Belfort. Great enthusiasm amongst the troops. They sing *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*.

More wine than water, German soldiers of the regimental train loot where they can. They search through cupboards, wardrobes, etc., and throw everything on the ground. Terribly savage. I have never taken part in such acts." ²

Diary of non-commissioned officer Burkhardt of the 100th Reserve Regiment Grenadiers, 12th Reserve Corps.

30th August. Near Rumigny (Ardennes). "We get some tinned foods from a commissariat depot guarded by a paymaster and 2 men. Lieut. Otto leaves a few more men to protect our rear. We go through the cellar and find all sorts of good things. The wonderful rooms in the castle offer a terrible spectacle. We searched for gold and silver and everything was turned topsy turvy. To resume the march is very uncomfortable after a copious consumption of alcohol. I have a flask of chartreuse in my knapsack into the bargain." ³

1. "Die Leichen der erschossenen Franzosen harren noch ihres Grabes, aber alles hat Kopf- und Brustschuss. Wir erhielten auch die Erlaubnis zum plündern, was man sich nicht zweimal sagen liess. Ganze Ballen mit Tuch, Wein in Flaschen und Fässern, Hühner und Schweine wurden mitgenommen. Um 1^u gabs das Mittagessen und in Gesellschaft toter Franzosen wurde es eingenommen. Man gewöhnt sich nun an alles."

2. (A. Berzée). "25 August. — Nachricht dass Belfort gefallen ist. Grosser Jubel unter den Truppen. Singen des Liedes "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles."

Mehr Wein als Wasser. Deutsche Soldaten von der Bagage plündern, wo sie können. Durchsuchen Schränke, Kommoden u. s. w. und werfen alles auf den Fussboden. Furchtbar wüst. (On the following page): Ich habe mich niemals daran beteiligt."

3. "Bei einem Traindepot, das von einem Zahlmeister und 2 Mann bewacht wird, fassen wir Konserven. Lt. Otto lässt noch einige Leute zur Bedeckung zurück. Wir unterziehen den Weinkeller einer Revision und finden allerlei gute Sachen. Die wunderbaren Räume des Schlosses sehen grauenhaft aus. Man hat nach Gold und Silber gesucht, und alles durcheinander geworfen. Der Weitermarsch ist nach der reichlich genossenen Alkoholizis sehr sauer. Ich habe zudem eine Steinbulle Chatreuse (sic) im Tornister."

50 civilians had hidden in the church tower and had fired on our men with a machine gun. All the civilians were shot.¹

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung demands that I should transcribe and translate the eight lines which follow. I set them out accordingly :

“ All the civilians were shot. The first battalion of the 49th lost several killed and many wounded. Thereupon the whole village was burned by shell fires. On account of these occurrences the 2nd battalion of the 49th was directed to watch over the security of troops on their way through Diest. Sentinels were put all along the street at intervals of ten yards.”²

I leave the reader to find out for himself, in what respect these lines remove the stain on the honour of the German troops and acquit them of having, on this day, the 18th August, in the village of Schaffen, as *the first report of the Belgian Commission of Enquiry* tells us (pages 3 and 4) shot “ the wife of François Luyckz... with her daughter of 12 ” and shot “ the daughter of Jean Ooyen aged 9 ” and “ burned alive André Willem, sacristan ”.

These are mere incidents, it will be said, of what the Germans call “ war against francs-tireurs ”. This is certainly the case. Such episodes abound in this country of Belgium which the Germans had sworn to respect and in case of need to defend, and which they are torturing. Here are two more which I set out for the criticism of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. I take the first from the diary written in shorthand of a soldier G. M. Missbach of the 13th Chasseurs Reserves (12th Reserve

1. “ Kurz von Diest liegt das Dorf Schaffen. Hier hatten sich gegen 50 Civilisten auf dem Kirchturm versteckt und schossen von hier aus auf unsere Truppen mit einem Maschinengewehr. Sämtliche Civilisten wurden erschossen. ”

2. “ Sämtliche Civilisten wurden erschossen. Die 1/49er verloren mehrere Mannschaften, zahlreiche Verwundete. Daraufhin wurde das ganze Dorf in Brand geschossen. Wegen dieser Vorfälle erhielt 11/49 den Befehl, die Sicherung der durchziehenden Truppen in Diest zu übernehmen. Die Strasse entlang standen Posten von 10 zu 10 Schritt. ”

Corps) (*Plate E*):

“ At Sorinne (Belgium, 23rd August) we halted for about 4 hours. The castle had been burned and we arrived just in time to see the shooting of 8 *francs-tireurs* who had been captured by the 106th Regiment. A terrible sight. One quite an old man, 5 men in full vigour of manhood, and 2 young men. The feet of one of these men were wrapped in linen so that his approach should not be heard. The evening before in the same village 9 men, among whom was the owner of the castle, had been shot. In the evening we bivouacked with the re-

[illegible]

Plate E.

mainder of the Division in the valley of the Meuse. In front of us and all around us were numberless fires and a village in flames."¹

1. In Sorinne hatten wir Aufenthalt von ungefähr 4 Stunden. Das Schloss war in Brand gesetzt worden, und wir kamen gerade noch zurecht, wie 8 Franc tireurs, welche das 106 Reserve Reg. gefangen genommen hatte, erschossen wurden. Ein sehrecklicher Anblick. Ein ganz alter Mann, 5 Männer im besten Mannesalter, und 2 junge Leute. Ein Mann hatte die Füße mit Tüchern umwickelt, damit man ihn nicht... (one word the meaning of which is not certain: habe?) hören sollen. Am Tage vorher waren in dem gleichen Dorfe bereits 9 Mann, darunter der Schlossherr, erschossen worden. Am Abend Bivouak in der Division nahe dem Maastale. Eine Unzahl von Feuerstätten vor und neben uns, auch ein brennendes Dorf.

III

MASSACRE IN A VILLAGE NORTH OF DINANT

I published the following page (*Plate G*, page 18) from the diary of Private Philipp (178th Saxon Regiment of Infantry).

“ In the evening at 10 o'clock the first battalion of the 178th regt. went down to the village that had been burnt to the north of Dinant. A sad and beautiful sight, and one that made you shudder. At the entrance of the village there lay about 50 dead bodies strewn on the road. They had been shot for having fired on our troops from ambush. In the course of the night, many others were shot in the same way, so that we could count more than two hundred. The women and children, lamp in hand, were obliged to watch the horrible scene. We then ate our rice, in the midst of the corpses, for we had not tasted food since morning.”¹

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has found only one subject of complaint in my transcription and translation of this passage, and that is in the sentence where it is stated that women and children, lamp in hand, looked on, I have translated *mussten* by *were obliged to* and not by *had to*, as if, as the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says, the text had run “ were compelled to be present at the terrible spectacle ” (*wurden gezwungen bei dem entsetzlichen Schauspiele zu assistieren*).

There are in fact two ways and two only of representing what happened : either these unhappy people were *compelled* by the German soldiers to remain with their lamps in their hands or else they came and remained of their own free will because *it was necessary* for them to try to iden-

1. “ Gleich am Eingange lagen ca. 50 erschossene Bürger, die meuehlings auf unsre Truppen gefeuert hatten. Im Laufe der Nacht wurden noch viele erschossen, sodass wir über 200 zählen konnten. Frauen und Kinder, die Lampe in der Hand, mussten dem entsetzlichen Schauspiele zusehen. Wir assen dann inmitten der Leichen unsern Reis, seit Morgen hatten wir nichts gegessen.”

tations. They seem to me to present two pictures which are equally hideous. But when the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which prefers the second interpretation, alleges in support of its contention that *müssen* could not convey the idea of compulsion, it makes an inaccurate assertion. I ask for no other proof than the expression in another German Diary (see *Plate J*, below) “ Aus der Stadt wurden 300 erschossen; die die Salve überlebten mussten Totengräber sein ” (“ 300 of the inhabitants were shot, and the survivors were requisitioned as gravediggers ”.) Can anyone say that in this phrase *müssen* expresses only a simple moral necessity, and that the men who were employed that day as gravediggers did so of their own free will?

Taking the advantage of a right which is universally admitted I have usually transcribed and translated from the pages produced in facsimile in my pamphlet only those passages which seemed to me essential, omitting what appeared to be immaterial. We have already seen and we shall see again further on that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* finds fault with me for so doing and attaches importance to the lines which I have omitted, zealously though vainly seeking to find in them excuses for the crimes which are admitted in the remaining part of the page. As an exception in respect of the page reproduced in facsimile *G*, it does not make such reproach against me, although in this case as in all others I have not transcribed and translated the whole page. Can it be because in this case at least the lines which I have reproduced are of no importance? Here they are :

“ Beim Durchsuchen der Häuser fanden wir viel Wein und Likör, aber keine Lebensmittel. (*Then in shorthand*) :¹ Hauptmann Hamann war betrunken ”.

1. This shorthand (Gabelsberger system) was deciphered by M. S. Jarris, shorthand writer to the Danish Parliament who has published an article on this subject in the paper “ Politiken ” of 15 th March, 1915.

That is to say :

“ We searched through the houses and found plenty of wines and spirits but nothing to eat”. *Then in shorthand* “ Captain — mann was drunk ”.

The soldier did not hesitate to write longhand the story of the nocturnal massacre, but he only dares to record in secret writing the fact that an officer got drunk.

VI

MASSACRE OF WOMEN

In my former pamphlet (page 16) I quote a diary which states that in one house alone in a village of Lorraine “ two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayonnetted (*passés à la baïonnette*) (*wurden erstochen*) ” and further on (p. 17) I quote another diary which states that at Orchies a woman was shot (*wurde erschossen*) for not having stopped at the word of command-*Halt*”. I have tried to make several of my friends guess what the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* can find to reproach me for in this sentence: not one of them succeeded. The complaint of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is that “ *passer à la baïonnette* ” means “ to put to death legally with cold steel ” (“ *hinrichten durch das Bayonett* ”) and that “ *passer par les armes* ” means “ to put to death legally with fire arms ” (“ *Mit der Waffe hinrichten* ”). But anyone who knows French knows that *être passé à la baïonnette, au fil de l'épée, par les armes*, etc., means “ to perish by the bayonet, by the sword, by fire arms ”, etc., and that at no period in the history of language have such expressions conveyed or could convey the idea of any legal sentence. The astonishing mistake of the Berlin critic probably arises from the fact that he has looked up some German-French dictionary which interpreted not the expression “ *être passé par les armes* ” but the expression “ *faire passer par les armes* ”.

One of the episodes in question is described by the author of the Diary in the following terms :

“(So haben wir 8 Häuser mit den Einwohnern vernichtet. Aus einem Hause wurden allein) 2 Männer mit ihren Frauen und ein 18jähriges Mädchen erstochen. Das Mädcl konnte mir leid tun, de. (n) siemachte solch unschuldigen Blick. Aber man konnte gegen die aufgeregte Menge nicht (s) ausrichten, denn dann sind es keine Menschen, sonder (n) Tiere. ”

Which means as I think :

“In this way we destroyed 8 houses with their inmates. In one of them two men with their wives and a girl of eighteen were bayonetted. The little one almost unnerved me, so innocent was her expression. But it was impossible to check the crowd (*Menge*) so excited were they, for at such moments you are no longer men, but wild beasts.”

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* maintains that *Menge* does not refer to the German soldiers but their adversaries, the inhabitants of the village.

I have consulted about ten people who know German as their native language, Alsacians, German Swiss, German women married to Frenchmen. I laid before them not the two proposed interpretations but simply the German text asking them to translate it according to their own ideas : seven without any prompting from me translated it as I had : then, when informed of the other interpretation some hesitated, but others insisted on their own, holding in particular that *Menge* (*crowd, multitude*) might very well be used of a riotous assembly at a time of strike for example, but would be most improperly applied to a few men scattered about in a few houses and shooting from the windows. However that may be, whether the author of the diary hoped to find an excuse for his companions in arms in the necessity of obtaining the mastery of adversaries who were more like beasts than men, or in the animal fury which develops almost of necessity in fighting with cold steel, we may say that the two pleas are equally admissible by way of extenuation. But the fact remains that

The only criticism made by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* concerns the phrase which I have left above in German. (*Aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und alles*). I translated it: «Mais là, incendie, femmes, et le reste...»¹ The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* tells us that in colloquial German “wir gaben Feuer Auf” means “we fired on” and that it must be interpreted as meaning, the word “auf” having been omitted, “Darauf gaben wir Feuer auf Weiber und Alles” that is to say, “We fired on the women and everybody”. Perhaps the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is right in this instance. The problem, the solution of which I leave to the reader, is to determine whether my mistake was to the advantage of the German Army or otherwise; in other words, it is for the reader to decide which is the more honourable action for a soldier, to outrage a woman or shoot her.

If the interpretation of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is accepted it will follow, it will be said, that this village where the soldiers were satisfied with firing “on the women and everybody” was neither burnt nor sacked. This would indeed be a fortunate and a rare privilege when one remembers what was, according to the testimony of the German Diaries, the fate of Nomeny, of Schaffen (see above), of Orchies (see page 18 of my first pamphlet), of Parux (page 22) of Sommepy which was “burnt to the ground, the French thrown into inflames houses, civilians and all burnt altogether” (page 10), of Gué d'Ossus where under the influence of an irrational panic the German troops “the male inhabitant were simply consigned to

Die Einwohner, die wegziehen wollten, konnten sich nach Wunsch ergeben, wo sie wollten; aber, der schoss, der wurde erschossen. Als wir aus Owele marschierten, knatterten die Gewehre, *aber da gab es Feuer Weiber und Alles*. An der Grenze hatten sie heute ein [en] Husar [en] erschossen und die Brücke gesprengt. Die Brücke wurde wiederhergestellt von den mutigen Infanteristen.”

1. Note by the translator of the English edition of M. Bédier's first pamphlet: This phrase was translated as “but there, women and everything were fired on...” — the rendering which has been favoured by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

the flames " (page 11), and of hundreds of other towns, villages and hamlets. As to the character of such devastations I submit to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*

Handwritten text in German, likely a letter or report, describing the devastation of a village and the workmen's houses. The text is written in a cursive script and is somewhat faded. It mentions the village of East Frise, 10th Army Corps, and describes the looting and sacking of the village and workmen's houses. The text is written in a cursive script and is somewhat faded.

Plate K.

for its criticism this judgment of the German private Z of the 78th Infantry of East Frise, 10th Army Corps. (Plate K, page 26).

"(Courcy to the North of Rheims, 22nd October). We are here lying on the turf in the garden of the owner of the glass works in the cellar of whose house the staff of our regiment are sheltered at present. Here the village and the workmen's houses have been looted and sacked from top to bottom. Hor-

rible. There is after all something in what people say about the German barbarians. ”¹

I submit also to the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* these three lines taken from the diary of Lieutenant Y. of the 13th regiment of foot artillery (Hohenzollern).

“ 24th August, Blamont.

“ The village has been sacked from top to bottom and those who are quartered there — Bavarians, I think, — behaved like Vandals. ”²

VI

CIVILIANS PLACED IN FRONT OF THE GERMAN TROOPS TO PROTECT THEM

I published in facsimile on page 20 of my pamphlet a column from an issue of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*. A Bavarian Officer, 1st. Lieut. A. Eberlein, relates in it over his signature the basest deeds : in any army but the German an Officer who made such a confession would suffer military degradation and be sent to penal servitude. This man relates openly how having entered Saint-Dié at the head of a column he was obliged to barricade himself in a house while waiting for reinforcements and how the better to protect himself he compelled, three inhabitants of the town, by blows with the butt end of a rifle, to go into the middle of the street and stay there seated on chairs during the fight. He adds that on the same day a German reserve regiment which entered Saint-Dié by another road had recourse to a similar stratagem : “ The four civilians that had been made to sit in the street had been killed by

1. “ Wir liegen hier auf dem Rasen im Garten des Besitzers der Glasfabrik, dessen Haus jetzt im Keller unseren Regimentsstab beherbergt. Das Dorf und die Arbeiterhäuser hier durch geplündert und verwüstet. Scheusslich. Es ist doch was daran an dem Gerede von den deutschen Barbaren. ”

2. “ 24. August. Das Dorf war vollständig ausgeplündert, und wie Vandalen hatte die Einquartierung — ich vermute die Baiern — gehaust. ”

French bullets. I saw them myself stretched out in the middle of the street near the Hospital.”

The complaint of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on this point is that I have only reproduced in facsimile one column from the paper. Why did I not publish the preceding column also? “In the absence of the context” says the paper, “it is impossible to determine if the fighting was in the nature of regular or irregular war. In fighting with *franc-tireurs* it may be useful and perfectly legitimate (*sic*) to place a few civilians in the street on whom their friends and neighbours do not dare to fire, while in regular war this would be a crime.”¹

Yes, a “crime” and one of the vilest of which one can accuse soldiers, and since it is of that crime that I accuse two German regiments, how is it that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has not taken the opportunity of justifying them and putting me to confusion? Was it so difficult for it to obtain a copy of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*? I gave every necessary reference, — No. 513 of Wednesday, 7th October, 1914, *Vorabendblatt*, page 2. It is impossible to believe that there is not a file of a paper with so wide a circulation in at least ten libraries at Berlin. It was as easy to verify the suggestion as it was necessary. If the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has neglected to do so, what right has it to insinuate that I found a mention of *franc-tireurs* in the story of the fighting at Saint-Dié and have suppressed the passage? If on the other hand the *Norddeutsche* has verified the passage and, not having found in the story of this fighting any trace of *franc-tireurs*, has the effrontery to express its regret that only publish one column from the paper, what is the appropriate name for such procedure? In fact, the

1. “Es ist aus dem Zusammenhang nicht zu erschen, ob es sich hier um regularen Krieg oder irregularen Krieg handelt. Im Franktireurkrieg kann es zweckmässig und im höchsten Grade gerechtfertigt sein einige Zivilisten auf die Strasse zu postieren, auf welche Freunde und Nachbarn nicht zu schiessen wagen, während es im regularen Krieg ein Verbrechen wäre.” (*Allgemeine Zeitung*.)

ersten fünf Gruppen Vortrupp. Radfahrer voraus!“ — Dann marschieren wir ein.

Zu meiner Ehre will ich gleich gestehen, in Marschkolonne! Aber es sieht alles so friedlich. Leute standen an der Straße, Mädchen winkten uns lächelnd zu — das Lächeln haben wir allerdings erst später verstanden. —

Ein Mann in grauen Haaren springt auf mich zu: „Herr Kapitän, ich führe Sie; ich bin ein Deutscher!“

„Sind noch Franzosen in der Stadt?“

„O nein! Alle fort!“

Wir ziehen an einer Kaserne vorbei; kein Mensch zu sehen. Rechts geht eine Seitenstraße ab. Da schreit einer von meinen Leuten: „Herr Oberleutnant, da drüben hab’ ich ein paar rote Hosen gesehen!“

Ich lasse sofort halten.

Das war unser Glück, denn unterdessen sind unsere Radfahrer bis auf 50 Meter an das Rathaus vorgefahren und plötzlich sehen sie vor sich eine Barricade. Sehen, Abspringen, Achtsamkeiten war das Werk eines Augenblicks und da ruft auch schon die erste Salve in unsere dichtgedrängte Marschkolonne.

Die Källe scheint sich aufgetan zu haben, die Häuser speien Feuer aus.

Die Wirkung der ersten Salve war furchterlich. 9 Mann wälzen sich in ihrem Blut, davon 4 Sterbende. Wie durch ein Wunder bin ich unverletzt geblieben, obgleich ich mit meinen beiden Offiziersstiefelvertretern vorausgegangen war. Einer von ihnen, Offiziersstiefelvertreter L., erlitt einen Schlag ins Bein, konnte aber noch zurückspringen. Einen Moment nach: lähmendes Entsetzen die Compagnie.

Alles drängt sich gegen eine Mauer, weiß doch niemand, woher die Schüsse kommen.

Da sehe ich unseren weidhäftigen französisch-deutschen Wiedermann auf das Rathaus zufliehen. Oben drüben steht: „Casé de l’Univers“. Schon ist er drin, la ruse mit aller Kraft: „Alles mir nach, ins Haus!“

Krachend gibt die schwere Türe nach, klirrend fliegen die Fensterscheiben im Zimmer herum, auch herein schlagen die Kugeln, aber etwa 40 Mann sind bei mir.

„Sofort sämtliche Fenster besetzen! Feldweibel G. hierauf in den zweiten Stock! Alles zur Verteidigung einrichten!“ Tische und Stühle fliegen hinaus auf die Straße, in die Böden werden Schießscharten hineingebracht und dann nehmen wir das Feuergefecht auf, hab ich doch unterdessen an den einschlagenden Geschossen gemerkt, daß sie zu meist von der Barricade am Rathaus herkommen.

Und jetzt schleichen auch Alpenjäger die Häuserfront entlang, ein paar wohlgezielte Schüsse, sie erschwinden.

Unsere nächste Sorge galt nun den Verwundeten. Einer von ihnen, ein Unteroffizier, liegt mit einem Bauchschuß mitten in der Straße und ruft jämmerlich um Hilfe. Ich bleibe umher,

unser trauer L eigener Lebens von unserer be wohl auch unge Haus wir uns wir auch noch e fenster hinaus.

In dieser 2 unserer Brigad ausgehalten ha geöffnetes Fen — zwei elegant tücher in den 8 Jügen werfend verzeihe mir di eine spricht der heraus, die ich und Schwester sie selbst sollen sonst werden di halbe Stunde gegeben Nun Artillerie- und sind über die 5 unjer Haus gei

Ich lasse sie hinunterführen, dem Herrn Gen wußte ich schon samt den Weig unjer weisgovi holen sollte.

Aber drei e haftet und da l werden auf St einen Sitzplatz nehmen. Hand ein paar Gew Man wird al sitzen sie drauße gebete sie losz Hände sind die So leid sie m

Das Klantem nach, wir könne Haus belegen 1 Haupttrake. 2 zeigt, wird nie hat unterdessen 7 Uhr abends um uns zu beiz ten: „St. Di 6

Wie ich späte giment, das ni draug, ganz äk mir. Ihre vic die Straße seht zoken erschossen. haus mitten in.

Nun nach ein weiß, welcher 6 kritischer Situa

reader can see here produced in facsimile the column which the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* regrets not to have had the opportunity of reading ¹ (*Plate L*).

We there read that on entering Saint-Dié an old man acted as guide to the German detachment. He called himself a German : (perhaps he was one) and he gave an assurance (perhaps in good faith) that there were no more French troops in the town. Further on firing broke out and a fight began; the Germans had before them “ Rote Hosen ”, that is to say “ red trousers ” (line 16) and the “ Alpenjäger ”, that is Alpine chasseurs (line 56) : Nothing is said about *francs-tireurs*.

The enquiry undertaken at Saint-Dié by the French authorities confirms in every particular the shameful but accurate story of 1st Lieut. Eberlein. There is a contra-

1. The article contains more than two hundred lines. As I cannot reproduce the whole in facsimile I will sum it up as follows : On the 27th August at six in the morning Eberlein's company forming the advance-guard marched in the direction of Saint-Dié : The column was disturbed during its march by the fire of the French Infantry. It arrived at the commune of Sainte-Marguerite (4 kilomètres from Saint-Dié) : Rifle shots came from houses. The houses were searched and only civilians were found ; the village was burned (In der Dorfstrasse erhalten wir Feuer und zwar kam es nur aus den Häusern. Obwohl wir die Häuser durchsuchten, finden wir nur Zivilisten darinnen, sie werden verhaftet, die Häuser gehen in Flammen auf. Von rückwärts kommt der Befehl, das Dorf niederzubrennen. Mit Unheimlicher Schnelligkeit wird der Befehl befolgt). Description of the burning. The company resumed its march, and arrived in sight of Saint-Dié. Description of Saint-Dié. Halt at the factory in front of the town to wait for orders. The order arrives from the brigade to enter Saint-Dié which ought not to contain any more French troops. Saint-Dié anseheinend vom Gegner frei ! Also los ! *Die ersten fünf Gruppen Vortrupp*. Here begins the second column which the reader has before his eyes in facsimile. The Germans have to fight in the town with infantry of the line and Alpine chasseurs — nothing but regular troops who have erected barricades. 24 lines follow not reproduced in facsimile which narrate the death of two German soldiers, Pfeifer and Kunz. Finally the German artillery fired on the French barricade. “ Wohl fällt für uns mitunter auch was ab, aber wir kriegen Luft und *unser braver Offizierstellvertreter W.* ” It is by these words that the 2nd column of the article joins on to the 3rd and last column reproduced in facsimile in my former pamphlet in which Lieut. Eberlein describes the abominable treatment inflicted by himself and his companions in arms of the regiment of reserve on unarmed civilians and innocent civilians.

diction only on one point. The Bavarian Officer states that “ he had himself seen in the middle of the street near the hospital the bodies of *four civilians* whom the reserve troops had placed in front to protect themselves”. In reality of these four civilians two only were killed; the two others were severely wounded but survived, as is shown amongst other evidence by the following disposition :

Year 1914. 30th October,

We, Dacher Eugène, police commissary of the town of Saint-Dié, *officier de police judiciaire*, assistant to the procureur of the Republic,

Acting in execution of instructions given by M. le Procureur de la République at Saint-Dié,

We went to 31, rue Thurin, the residence of M. Charles Auguste Georges Visser, 50 years of age, cashier at the manufactory of Emile Bleeh & Co.

M. Visser, having been sworn to speak the truth made the following declaration :

“ On the 27th August, 1914, towards nine in the morning, a detachment of German infantry arrived at Saint-Dié by the road which leads from Gratin to Saint-Dié. A German officer placed his revolver under my chin saying “ you lead us ”. My wife and my little daughter Georgette aged nine implored the German officer not to do me any harm, to which the German officer replied that no harm would be done to me. As I came out of the Bleeh factory I saw M. Chotel of Saint-Dié, rue d'Ormont surrounded by Prussians. I asked Chotel what he was doing there and he told me that the Germans had found him on the road and brought him with them.

“ At the crossing of the rue Thurin and the rue Breuil the Germans, who were entering all the houses, took possession of M. Léon Georges, labourer, living at Saint-Dié, rue Thurin, No. 1, and of one Louzy, carpenter, living at Saint-Dié, rue Thurin, No. 1. The latter is a deaf mute.

“ Up to this moment the Germans in the rue Thurin had not fired nor been fired at; we heard only the bombardment and the noise of distant rifle firing.

“ At the crossing of rue Thurin and rue Breuil a German soldier crossed the rue Breuil and advanced close to the wall of the hospital. There he received a bullet full in the face and

fell. Then the German officer in fury addressed himself to me and said "There they are, your dirty Frenchmen! They are killing our soldiers at the corners of the street! At the same time he gave an order in German and said to us four, threatening us with his revolver, "You march on in front".

"We started in front of the German and after a few steps I saw about 200 metres off a barricade placed right in front of us, behind which our soldiers were firing. The fusillade began at once so that we were caught between two fires.

"I first saw Chotel fall on his knees and the blood run on to his trousers; he turned round and cried "murderers! cowards!"; and he then fell dead.

"A little afterwards M. Léon Georges fell in his turn without saying a word. Afterwards I saw the mute, Louzy, escape by keeping close to the wall of the hospital in rue Saint-Charles. I thought that he was wounded in the foot; I learnt later on that he was wounded in the wrist. The Germans cried out to him to stop, but being a deaf mute he went on.

"In my turn I received a wound in the right groin and fell. I must have lost consciousness for a moment. When I opened my eyes again the cannonade and fusillade were still going on. The Germans were still near me and were firing on the barricade in the rue Saint-Charles.

"At a certain moment the Germans advanced. I begged a German soldier to take me to my own house. He brought me first before a German officer, the very one who had placed us in front. The officer said to me, You know that it was not a German bullet that struck you but a French bullet! He had me taken home by two German soldiers.

"When I undressed at my own house I discovered that I had in my right groin a wound about 12 centimètres long by 5 centimètres broad. I lost a large quantity of blood; two 5 franc pieces, which were in the pocket of my waistcoat, had been twisted and cut by the bullet, of which they bore the mark. But for these two coins I think I should have received a mortal wound.

"I hope to be restored to health in a month or two if there are no complications.

"I confirm my statement of this and sign after reading it

"VISSER. DUCHER."

VII

A "SCHWEINHUND"

I have reproduced in my pamphlet (pages 24-25) a page in which a soldier of the 12th Reservists Infantry Regiment describes certain of his companions in arms as "ent-

mein Schweinhund mit Schindeln aus dem
 haben sich nicht helfen können, einen
 großen Dickschopf. Sein Arm ist
 volle Wunden. In der ersten
 Nacht hat mir mehr als 35 Schüsse durch
 den Rücken, den Brust, den Kopf
 durch seinen Schutzhelm durch.
 und er wollte, dass Vater, der den
 Sohn, schenke ihm das Leben und die
 Wunde. Göttern für alles für möglich?
 und das ist der gewöhnliche Mensch zu sein.
 Mittwoch, 14 Oktober 14

Plate M.

menschte Kerle" that is to say, men who are no longer men, and "Schweinhunde" that is to say "vile people". In support of this he wrote what may be seen in the facsimile attached (Plate M) :

"One of them entered a sacristy that was locked, in which was the blessed sacrament. Out of respect a protes-

tant avoided sleeping there; he polluted the place... How can there be such beings! Last night, a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty five, and a married man, tried to rape the daughter of a man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child; and as the father tried to interpose he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast. "

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is astonished that I should have stopped the quotation at that point, and neglected to translate the two last lines of the facsimile which read: " Could one believe such a thing possible? but this man at least awaits the punishment which he deserves. "

If this last sentence had embarrassed me, and if I had been given to such subterfuges, all I need have done as anyone who looks at the facsimile will see at a glance, was to abstain from photographing it. It is contradictory to accuse me of having wished to suppress a sentence which would never have been known except through my action. The sole reason why I did not translate it was because of its vagueness; except the officers and soldiers of the 12th Prussian Reserve Regiment of Infantry, no one in the world knows what it means. Of what punishment did the author of the diary mean to speak? No one knows: perhaps simply the punishment of divine justice. If he is speaking of a proceeding before a Court Martial, did that proceeding end in condemnation or acquittal? No one knows. If the verdict was guilty, what was the penalty? No one knows.

I am here obliged to undertake a painful controversy. I have been accused with reference to the quotation given above of making a misleading translation, and this accusation has been made in a Danish paper by a man to whom, for his own sake, I will certainly not designate more precisely. I must do the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* the justice to say that, although that paper knew the Danish article and referred to it, it did not take up the

accusation mentioned on its own account, because it knew that it was too base. I also should be glad enough to keep silence on the subject, but I cannot, for I am informed that the problem set by this journalist arouses endless controversy in Denmark.

This problem is as to whether I have not abused my rights as a translator by translating the words "*die noch junge Tochter seines Quartierwirtes*" by the words "the daughter of the man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child" (*la fille de l'habitant chez qui il avait pris quartier, une fillette*). To solve the problem I would ask, how ought it to be translated? "The *still young* daughter"? That would have meant a girl still capable of attracting as would be the case for example of a woman of 30 or 35, and it is clear that the author of the diary wished to express something quite different from that. If he describes his companion in arms as a *Schweinhund* it is because he reproaches him for having assaulted not a woman still young but a girl whom no one else but a *Schweinhund* would have assaulted; that is to say a girl who was too young "*nondum matura*" or "*vix matura*", and hence the word *fillette* (child) is, as I employ it, a "euphemism of decency" as is likewise the *noch junge* of the author of the diary, and one of the most discreet euphemisms that I can find in my language.

But even if, which is not the case, I had forced the sense, and, when writing of a crime of this sort and of a girl of our country I had for a moment lost the calm which ought to be preserved by a translator — even if a translation had unconsciously allowed some mark of my sorrow and disgust to escape me, no one in the world would have any right to complain. This is a sentiment which was not present to the "neutral" critic who, in his peaceful town, in order to find food for his polemics, ransacks dictionaries and expends his energies in determining up to what age precisely a young girl (*fille*) can be said to be a child

pears, the sting still remains in the facts as they really took place, for we know — and by German diaries — what was the martyrdom of Dinant (21-26 August), and how the houses of whole streets were burnt by incendiary bombs (*Bomben*). This is proved for example by the diary of Private Paul Förster of the 108th Fusilier Regiment Prince Georges, 12th Corps (*Plates N and O*, p. 36, 37.)

“ 21st August. After a march of an hour and a half we arrived at the first houses of Dinant. The street lamps were lighted but were destroyed by us. ”

“ We had reached the heart of Dinant. Right and left were houses three and four stories high. All at once something terrible and startling happened. From all the houses and all the windows people fired at once as if on an agreed signal. There were a hissing of fire and whistling of bullets which were indescribable. For a moment we were all as it were paralysed, falling on the ground from terror. For my part I was stretched out flat on the right side of the street. My rifle and bayonet were snatched from me. I was delivered defenceless into the hands of the enemy. However my comrades quickly recovered from their fright. Presently our rifles spat out fire in their turn. About 20 minutes passed, during which one might have thought the day of judgment had come. Already the dead and wounded were lying in the street. Anger still further inflamed us. When the fusillade had raged for about 20 minutes, the command to “ cease firing ” sounded through the streets. Still people continued to fire for perhaps another five minutes. Then a silence like death reigned again. The fusillade from the houses had also ceased. Then the command rang out “ beat in the doors of the houses and burn ”. We got to work vigorously, with blows with the butt ends of our rifles, and broke in all the doors and windows. Then the sappers began their work. *They threw incendiary bombs into the houses.* Before long whole rows of houses were in flames. Flames broke out through the windows and lit up the night. ”

“ We beat a retreat. All the houses before which we passed were also burnt. We had attained our end. ” ¹

1. 21. VIII. Nach 1 1/2 stündigem Marsch kamen wir an die ersten Häuser Dinants. Die Strassenlaternen brannten, wurden aber von uns demoliert.

Mitten in Dinant waren wir angelangt. Rechts und links standen Häusermauern 3 und 4 Stock hoch. Plötzlich ereignete sich etwas

When it is remembered that Dinant is a Belgian town and that to use Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's euphemism, the violation of Belgian territory was a "wrong", when it is remembered that of the 1,400 houses of Dinant and its suburbs, scarcely 200 are still standing; when it is remembered that the list of Belgians who were massacred there contains about 800 names and that innocent blood was shed in rivers, certainly one has a right to be astonished that such "victories" should be celebrated by hymns of gratitude (In the evening military chorale: *Now thank we all our God*), which bear a very strong resemblance to blasphemies.

But what can one be astonished at after reading the German diaries? Have we not just seen the German troops sack a Belgian village to the sound of their national hymn *Deutschland über alles*. Let us hear the song *Deutschland über alles* ring out once more :

Diary of Corporal Menge of the 8th Company of the 74th Reserve Infantry, 10th Reserve Corps (Plate P, p. 40).

"15th August.

"Giving a three-fold cheer in honour of our Emperor and to the sounds of the strain *Deutschland über alles*, we crossed

Furchtbares und Schreckliches. Aus allen Häusern und Fenstern schoss es auf einmal wie verabredet. Es war ein Feuerspeien und Kugelsausen, das sich nicht beschreiben lässt. Für den ersten Augenblick waren alle von uns wie gelähmt. Vor Schreck fiel alles auf die Strasse. Ich selbst lag ganz unten auf der rechten Strassenseite. Mein Gewehr wurde mir mit Seitengewehr entrissen. Hilflos war ich in die Hand der Feinde gegeben. Doch meine Kameraden hatten sich bald vom Schreck erholt. Jetzt spieen unsre Gewehre Feuer. Es dauerte vielleicht 20 Minuten, wo man dachte, das jüngste Gericht sei losgebrochen. Auf der Strasse lagen schon Tote und Verwundete. Die Wut entbrannte sich in uns noch mehr. Als das Feuer vielleicht 20 Minuten gewutet hatte, ging das Kommando (Stopfen) durch die Strassen. Das Schiessen dauerte vielleicht noch 5 Minuten. Dann trat wieder Totenstille ein. Auch das Feuer aus den Häusern hatte aufgehört. Jetzt ertönte das Kommando : "In die Häuser einbrechen und niederbrennen". Wir arbeiteten mächtig mit den Kolben und stiessen alle Türen und Fenster ein. Nun traten die Pioniere in Tätigkeit. Sie warfen die Bomben in die Häuser. Es dauerte nicht lange, so standen ganze Häuserreihen in Flammen. Die Flammen schlugen zu den Fenstern heraus und erleuchteten die Nacht.

Wir traten den Rückzug an alle Häuser, wo wir vorbeikamen, wurden auch in Brand gesetzt. Wir hatten unsern Zweck erreicht.

mely, that of the diary of private Paul Glöde, of the 9th Pioneer Battalion, 9th Corps (Plate Q, p. 42) :

“ 12th August, 1914. In Belgium. — It is easy to imagine the state of fury of our soldiers when you see the villages that have been destroyed. There is not one house left undamaged. All eatables are requisitioned by the soldiers no longer commanded. We have seen heaps of dead men and women who had been executed after trial. Little children were running around them looking for their mothers. Dogs were chained up with nothing to eat or drink, while the houses were burning over their heads. But the righteous anger of our soldiers goes hand in hand with sheer vandalism. In some villages which had already been deserted they “ set up the red cock ” on all the houses (burnt them). The inhabitants sadden me. If they use disloyal weapons, after all they are but defending their country. The atrocities that these civilians have been and are guilty of are avenged in a savage manner. *Mutilation of the wounded is the order of the day.* ” ¹

On the facsimile, in place of *wüst gerächt* (avenged in a savage manner) the *Norddeutsche* chooses to read *ernst gerächt* (severely avenged), alleging that the sign which denotes the modification of the *u* is lacking on the word which I read *wüst*, and in favour of the reading “ ernst ” the *Norddeutsche* maintains that the mutilated wounded were Germans.

To which I reply that the author of the diary may well have omitted the sign from the *u* of *wüst*, since he omitted it three lines higher up in the word *verübt*. I reply moreover that it is impossible to read *ernst* if you compare the *er* of *erschossen* of the facsimile ; that one is obliged to read *wüst*

1. “ Von der Wut der Soldaten kann man sich ein Bild machen, wenn man die zerstörten Dörfer sieht. Kein Haus ist mehr ganz. Alles essbare wird von einzelnen Soldaten requiriert. Mehrere Haufen Menschen sah man, die standrechtlich erschossen wurden. Kleine Schweinchen liefen umher und suchten ihre Mutter. Hunde lagen an der Kette und hatten nichts zu fressen und zu saufen und über ihnen brannten die Häuser.

“ Neben der gerechten Wut der Soldaten schreitet aber auch purer Vandalismus. In ganz leeren Dörfer setzen sie den roten Hahn ganz willkürlich auf die Häuser. Mir tun die Leute leid. Wenn sie auch unfaire Waffen gebrauchen, so verteidigen sie doch nur ihr Vaterland. Die Grausamkeiten die verübt wurden und noch werden von seiten der Bürger werden wüst gerächt.

“ *Verstümmelungen der Verwundeten sind an Tagesordnung.* ”

...nicht. Kein Haus ist
...ganz. Alles erschauert
...von eintöniger
Solobothai requiriert.
Mehrere Haufen Müll
...man, die ständ-
lich kleine erschauern
...kleine ...
... & ...
... Mutter. ...
... an der ...
... nichts. Bei ...
... ...
... ...
...
...
...

Neben der gewöhnl. Wirt
der Soldaten ...
... auch ...
... leeren Dörfern
... sie ...
... ...
... auf die ...
... die ...
... ...
... ...
... ...
...
...

Die ...
...
...
...
...
...
...
...

Tagesordnung

12.8.14. ...

if one compares the *w* of that word with the *w* in *wurden*, *willkürlich*, *werden*, in lines 8, 21, 28 and 29. I maintain lastly that the sequence of ideas shows that the writer is speaking in the last sentence of the mutilation of Belgian wounded.

It is, however, possible after all that this soldier, who was writing hastily notes for himself alone, has expressed something different from what he meant to say; and therefore leaving the reader to put his own interpretation on the last sentence in this text, I will produce others which, alas, leave no doubt as to the perpetration of crimes of this character.

The diary of non-commissioned officer Heinrich Fröhlich,

117th Infantry Regiment, 18th Army Corps, reads as follows (Plate R):

"Sunday 8th September. Order to kill all the Frenchmen even if they wish to lay down their arms, except the wounded, and that because the Frenchmen allowed us to approach very close and then surprised us by a violent fire."¹

1. "Befehl alle Franzosen mit Ausnahmender Verwandeten niederzuschossen, auch wenn sie die Waffen strecken wollen, da die Franzosen uns bis auf nächste Entfernung herankommen liessen und dann mit heftigem Feuer überraschten."

Donnerstag
8. 14.
9.
X

Hierbei 5. Morgen
sagte fester 1. Abzug
auf die 4. Marée. Die
im Lager alle die
gaben uns an.
um die 4. Marée
niederzulegen. Die
waren für die 1. Abzug
strecken wollen, da
in Franzosen. Die
die mit uns für
für uns, für uns =
man lassen uns den
mit festem Feuer
überfallen.

Plate R.

Fahlenstein, 34th Fusiliers, 11th Army Corps, as follows. (Plate U) :

“ 28th August. They (the Frenchmen) lay in heaps of 8 or 10 wounded or dead on the top of one another. Those who could still walk we made prisoners and brought with us : those who were seriously wounded, in the head or lungs, etc. and who could not stand upright were given one more bullet which put an end to their life.

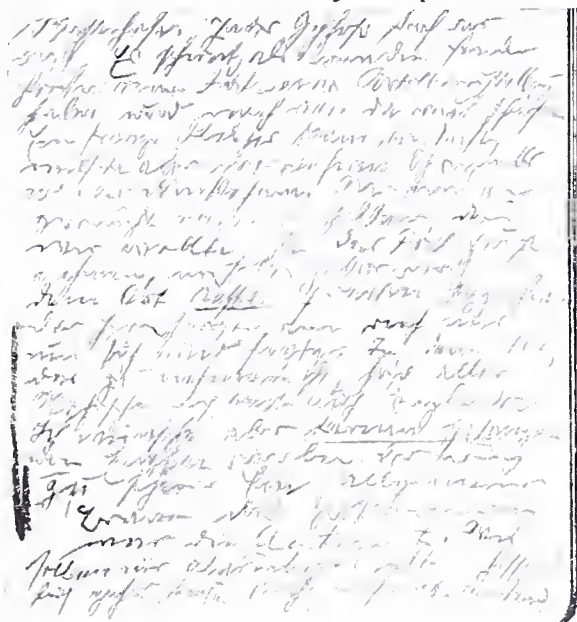


Plate T.

Indeed that was the order which we had received.”

X

GENERAL CONCLUSION

I will finish by this general appreciation taken from the Diary of Non-Commissioned Officer X. of the 46th Reserve Regiment of Infantry, 5th Reserve Corps (Plate V) :

“ 15th October, 1914. It had first been intended to put us into billets at Billy (Billy-sous-Mangiennes) where the civilian popu-

liehkeit nach Engländer. Ich wünsche aber *keinen* gefangenen Engländer bei der Kompanie zu sehen”. Ein allgemeines Bravo der Zustimmung war die Antwort.

1. “ Da lagen sie haufenweise 8 bis 10 Verwundete und Tote immer aufeinander. Die nun noch gehen konnten wurden gefangen und mitgenommen. Die schwer verwundeten, die einen Kopfschuss oder Lungenschuss u. s. w. hatten, und nicht mehr auf konnten, bekamen dennoch eine Kugel zu, dass ihr Leben ein Ende hatte. Das ist uns ja auch befohlen worden. ”

notebook have equal rank with the Pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Malines. Since the beginning of the war nothing has been written more true and more full of religion. If our soldiers who were the witnesses of so many crimes could all know this reflection of a foe who was worthy of them, it would be another antidote to the hideous temptation of reprisals. It would assist in strengthening them in their belief that if it is a glorious thing to conquer, victory as well as life itself is bought too dearly at the price of honour.

Everyone is now in a position to place the proper value upon the justification put forward by the semi-official German press. On the debit side the account shows a mistake in translation which I have admitted (namely *Granaten* wrongly translated “ bombs ”) and that is all. For the rest the controversy reduces itself to disputes — for the most part idle ones — as to the meaning of five or six obscure lines which may be interpreted, if desired, as the German press demands, without the horror of the deeds therein related being in any way diminished. The object of the attack was to disturb the minds of those of my readers who do not know German. They will know for the future what it is worth. They know that the texts published in my two pamphlets are proof against all controversy and all argument conducted in good faith. They know I have obtained the confessions concerning some of the crimes committed by the German armies from German soldiers and German soldiers only; that their confessions have often been made with cynicism and sometimes not without horror and disgust; and that the crimes in question, almost all of which have been committed in obedience to orders, are crimes against women, children, defenceless civilians, old men, prisoners and wounded.

“ But God is just and sees everything ; his mill grinds slowly but exceeding small. ”

8
STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS ON THE WAR

How Austria-Hungary waged war in Serbia

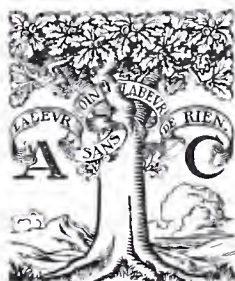
Personal Investigations of a Neutral

by

R.-A. REISS

Professor at the University of Lausanne.

Translated by J. S.



LIBRAIRIE ARMAND COLIN

103, Boulevard Saint-Michel, PARIS, 5^e

1915

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| Explosive bullets. | 4 |
| Bombardment of open towns and destruction of houses. | 11 |
| Massacres of prisoners and wounded soldiers | 13 |
| Massacres of civilians | 16 |
| Some official reports by Serbian officers. | 21 |
| Some evidence by civilians. | 26 |
| Some results of my personal enquiry. , | 30 |
| Pillage and destruction of property | 39 |
| The causes of the Austro-Hungarian cruelties | 44 |
| APPENDIX : Trial of Agram | 49 |

HOW AUSTRIA-HUNGARY WAGED WAR IN SERBIA

PERSONAL INVESTIGATIONS OF A NEUTRAL

One of the characteristics of the present war is that it has necessitated the mobilisation not only of armies and the sanitary services but also of criminologists. This is the reason why I, as a practical criminologist, was invited by the Serbian Government to visit Serbia to see with my own eyes, and form a judgment upon the conduct of the Austro-Hungarian troops in that unhappy country.

Very shortly after the beginning of the war Serbia cried out in horror at the abominable excesses of which she accused the invading Austro-Hungarian army; but the public, at least in neutral countries, remained sceptical. I confess that I was myself not convinced by reading the Serbian complaints. However, when I received the invitation of the Serbian Government, I believed it to be my duty to accept it. Is it not the duty of an honest man, if cruelties have really been committed, emphatically to denounce them, and if only isolated cases of atrocities have occurred, to point out that a whole army cannot be made responsible for the misdeeds of a few hooligans such as are found among all nations?

I therefore started for Serbia, and I conducted my enquiry with every necessary precaution. I did not limit myself to interrogating hundreds of Austrian prisoners and hundreds

of eye-witnesses; I went to the spot, sometimes with shells bursting around me, to inform myself of everything that it was possible to investigate. I opened graves; I examined the dead and wounded; I visited bombarded towns; I went into houses and I carried on there a scientific enquiry using the most scrupulous methods; in short, I did my utmost to investigate and verify the facts which I report in this work. I will not add to it any useless comments, I will leave my witnesses to tell their own story, and will merely state the facts that I have established. The reader will form his opinion for himself.



Explosive bullets.

After the Austrian defeats on the Iadar and the Tzer, Serbian soldiers returning from the front stated that when the enemy fired at them two explosions were heard; the sharp

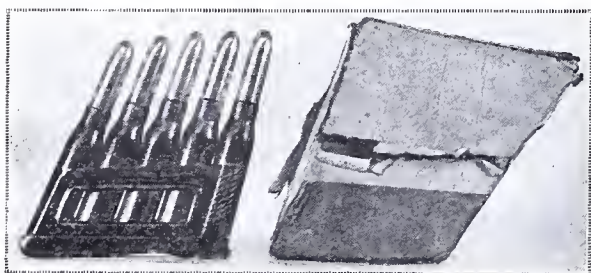


PLATE 1. — Magazine filled with cartridges containing explosive bullets. Cover of the same.

report of the rifle as it was fired, and a second explosion which seemed to occur sometimes behind them and sometimes in front. The explanation of this mystery was soon discovered

in the bandoliers of Austrian prisoners of war. Cartridges were there found which were outwardly exactly like ordinary cartridges, except that they had a black or red ring round the case near the shoulder. On opening these cartridges it was ascertained that they were really explosive bullets, use

of which is forbidden by the rules of war and international conventions (plate 1).

Later on the Serbian army not only found cartridges of this

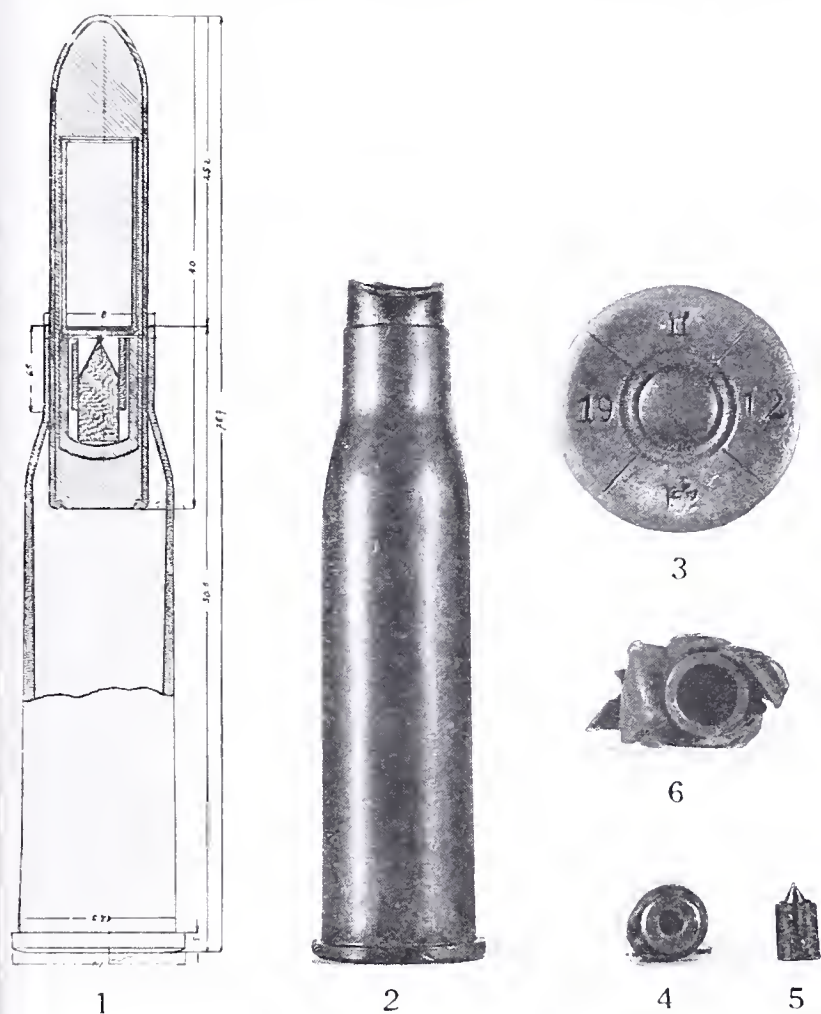


PLATE 2. — 1. Sketch of a cartridge with explosive bullets; 2. Chamber for powder; 3. Base of the case bearing the date 1912 and the Austrian eagle; 4. Guide-tube; 5. Striker; 6. Chamber for Nos. 4 and 5.

nature on prisoners; they also seized whole boxes full of them. In addition the belts of machine guns were found wholly or partly equipped with cartridges with explosive bullets.

The boxes containing the elips which were stocked with these cartridges were labelled with the word *Einschusspatronen* or *10 Stück scharfe Uebungspatronen*. The cartridges came from the State manufactory of Wellersdorf near Vienna and the base of their case bore the date 1912 and the doubled headed Austrian eagle (plate 2).

On opening the cartridge we found the normal charge of

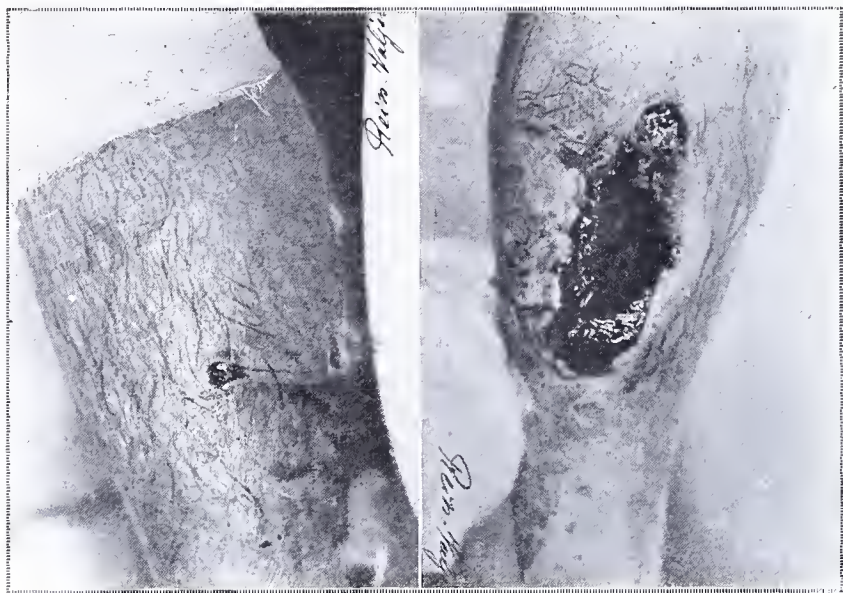


PLATE 3. — Wound caused by an explosive bullet. On the left, the orifice of entry; on the right, the orifice of exit.

powder in the case. The bullet was made up as follows :

The envelope contained lead in the point and in the base of the bullet. The front part of the latter contained in addition a cylindrical chamber surrounded by a thin sheet of lead. This was filled with a compound which has been ascertained by an analysis made at the laboratory of Kragujevatz, to consist of a mixture of compressed black powder and a little aluminium. At the base of the chamber was fixed a percussion cap of fulminate of mercury.

Behind this first chamber there was a second, made of

steel, enclosing a brass tube into which a striker was fitted. If the bullet in its flight is stopped by some obstacle (bone, wood, etc.) the striker, driven forward by its own momentum, strikes the cap, and thus produces the explosion of the powder which in its turn explodes the bullet. Whether the explosion takes place when the bullet encounters the smallest obstacle, or only when it is sharply checked in its flight, depends on the adjustment of the tube, that is to say, on how tightly it fits round the striker and consequently on the degree of freedom with which the latter can operate (plate 2).

This bullet, therefore, has precisely the characteristics of explosive bullets such as have been used up to now only for shooting pachydermatous animals.

I saw a very great number of wounds which had been produced by the *Einschusspatronen*, in hospitals, in the advanced ambulances and even on the field of battle.

In general the orifice of entry is normal and small. The orifice of exit from the body on the other hand is enormous (plate 5) and the flesh is often protruded in the form of a mushroom (plate 4). The inside of the wound is shattered and the bones which have been struck are broken into small splinters. The bullet on exploding inside the body is broken up and its fragments act like shrapnel. To this must be added the effect of the gases. The wounds are therefore very serious. A limb which has been struck by an explosive bullet is almost always lost;



PLATE 4. — Wound caused by explosive bullet (leg). The orifice of exit (in the shape of a mushroom).

a wound in the head or the trunk is inevitably fatal.

Ordinary bullets fired at a very short range may also produce wounds whose orifice is normal at the point of entry and very large at the point of leaving the body ; but these wounds, of which I have seen a very great number, do not tear so large a channel through the body as wounds made by explosive bullets. Besides we have often extracted from the wounds shattered fragments of explosive bullets (plate 5). There is therefore no doubt that these explosive Austrian bullets were used against Serbian soldiers. The number of persons so wounded proves that their use was very frequent. Surgeon-major Lioubischa Voulovitch for example has placed on record 117 cases of wounds caused by explosive bullets at the sixth reserve hospital of Valievo in nine days.

I questioned a large number of Austro-Hungarian prisoners on the use of the *Einschusspatronen*, and their replies led me to put the following facts on record :

1. Cartridges with explosive bullets were used in regiments N^o 16, 26, 27 (Hungarian), 28, 78, 96 and 100.

2. They were only distributed to the troops towards the middle of December, that is to say after the defeat on the Iadar and Tzer.

3. The soldiers had no knowledge of them before the war : " They were always shut up in time of peace and their use is reserved exclusively for war " said the witness, number 27, to me.

4. Several soldiers were told that these cartridges were intended to be used for the purpose of ascertaining the range.

5. An admission was made to many others that they were explosive bullets which produced very serious wounds.

6. Good marksmen and non-commissioned officers received from five to thirty of these cartridges.

When this use of explosive bullets against the Serbians was denounced, the Austrians at first denied the fact but later they confessed that they used special cartridges to get the range. The *Einschusspatronen* were intended to allow of the observation of the range by smoke during the day and

fire by night, smoke and fire being produced by the explosion of the mixture of powder and aluminium contained in the interior chamber of the bullet.

I have made experiments with these cartridges and I believe it to be impossible in reality to get the range by means of the smoke or flame. So far as concerns the smoke, the amount of it is relatively small and it cannot be seen distinctly

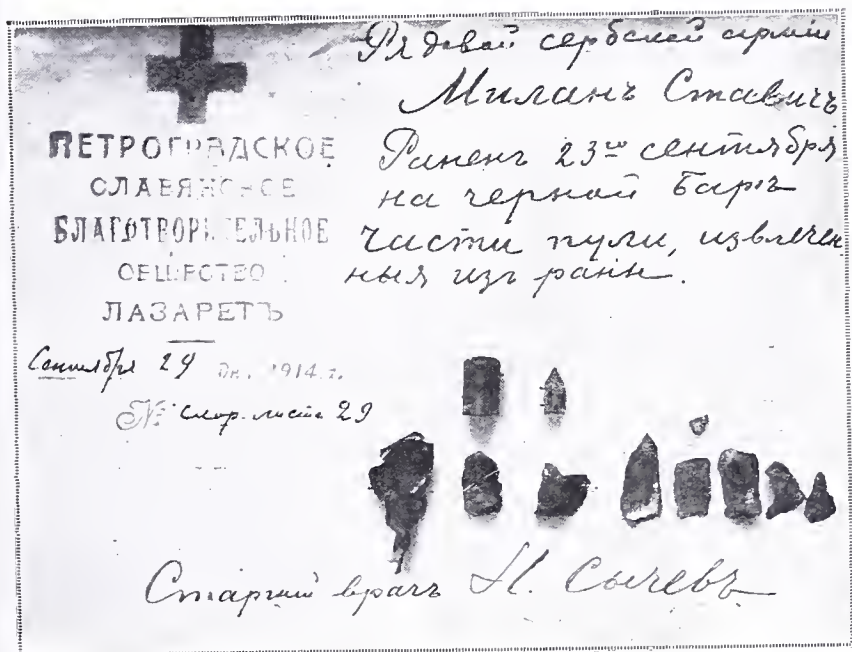


PLATE 5. — Fragments of an explosive bullet extracted from the wound of a Serbian soldier in the Russian hospital at Valievo.

at a great distance. Moreover, just as in the case of the explosive mixtures of aluminium or magnesium employed in photography, the smoke is forced immediately by the explosion of the gases to a height which is more or less great, and the cloud of smoke is only formed at a very considerable distance from the place of the explosion. It is therefore impossible that the smoke could show whether the target has really been hit.

The flame is well seen at night, but how can anyone know

whether it rises from the target aimed at or not? Even when one sees a small fixed light burning in the night it is almost impossible to gauge its distance since the elements for comparison are absent. How therefore can one gauge a distance with the aid of a light which only lasts an instant?

Finally when the explosion occurs in the body of a man, neither flame nor smoke is seen. In that case how can the effect of the shot be ascertained? Only by seeing the fallen man who has been put out of action by a serious wound. The true purpose of the *Einschusspatronen* appears to be

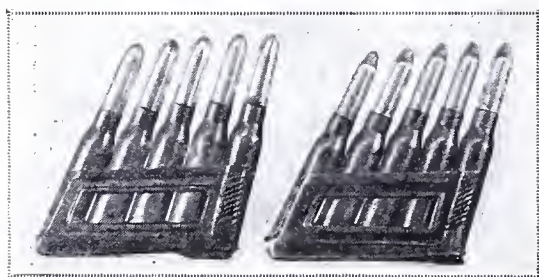


PLATE 6. — Ordinary Austro-Hungarian cartridges; expanding cartridges (dum-dum) found on the fields of battle of Crnabara and Paracninitza.

to put enemy soldiers out of action, for, as Austro-Hungarian prisoners have informed me, they were not forbidden to fire with them on the enemy. Some soldiers informed me even that they were encouraged to do so,

being told at the same time that they were cartridges with explosive bullets. It is not possible otherwise to explain the fact that these cartridges, which, as it is alleged, were intended to indicate the range, only became known to the soldiers during the war and indeed only after the serious defeat of the Austro-Hungarians on the Iadar and the Tzer.

The Austro-Hungarians have also used expanding bullets (dum-dum) made in 1914. I have in my possession specimens of these cartridges with expanding bullets, much less dangerous than the cartridges with explosive bullets, which were found in boxes on the battlefields of Crnabara and Paracninitza (plate 6).

***Bombardment of open towns and destruction
of houses.***

Bombardment of open towns also entered into the programme of the *Strafexpedition* — the Punitive-expedition — as the Austro-Hungarians called it. Thus the towns of Belgrade, Chabatz and Losnitza were bombarded.

I visited these three towns during the bombardment, and I there ascertained the following facts :

Belgrade. I was at Belgrade from the 2nd to the 4th October, 1914. At this date the Austrians had bombarded the town for 56 days and nights. Belgrade is an open town, for its ancient Turkish fortress cannot be regarded as a work of modern defence. It is an interesting historical monument and nothing more. This however did not prevent the Austro-Hungarians from bombarding it freely.

The shells were aimed at private houses, Government buildings and factories without any distinction. Thus the University has been almost wholly destroyed, the Serbian national museum exists no longer, the old royal palace is damaged, as are also the Hotel de la Loterie and the railway station. The state tobacco manufactory was burned to the ground by incendiary shells. Austrian shells struck the Russian and British Legations in spite of the Spanish flag which was flying above them, and the Austrian gunners sent two shots through their own Legation.

I made an examination to see whether the private houses which were damaged or destroyed by the bombardment were situated near the Government buildings, and I have ascertained that for the most part this was not the case. We must conclude that the Austrians were trying to destroy these houses. Sixty State buildings and 640 private houses were struck by projectiles.

Even the hospitals were struck. Thus the State General Hospital was bombarded four times; the private residence

of the governor of the hospital, the operating theatre of the surgical section, which is situated in the courtyard in a special building, and the lunatic asylum were damaged.

I draw the attention of my readers to the bombardment of the university, the national museum and the hospital. The Hague Convention, signed by Austria-Hungary, contains the express stipulation that buildings devoted to science, the arts, and charity must be preserved if they do not serve any military end. These buildings were not being used for any military purposes, and they are not situated in the neighbourhood of buildings whose destruction was necessary for strategical reasons.

I have also discovered some evidence of bombardment by shrapnel shells; in particular the university and its lecture halls are riddled with bullets which have come from these projectiles; I have kept a certain number of them as pieces of evidence. Normally shrapnel is only used in war against enemy forces and never for the bombardment of open towns. The use of such deadly weapons proves that the Austro-Hungarians sought to destroy the civil population of Belgrade.

At the time of my enquiry at Belgrade 25 civilians had been killed and 126 wounded by the bombardment. Among these latter 57 were struck by shrapnel and 87 by shells.

Chabatz. I was at Chabatz from the 22nd to the 24th October, 1914. Chabatz is one of the richest towns in Serbia. At the time of my visit it had already been subjected to an invasion by the Austrians, who were driven out after their defeat on the Iadar and Tzer. Since the commencement of the war this town has been bombarded almost daily, and very few civilians have remained in it. The centre of the town had been almost entirely destroyed by ordinary shells and incendiary projectiles. Of the greater part of the houses there remained nothing but the façades blackened by fire. In all, 486 houses had been destroyed or damaged. The bombardment of this open town served no strategic object, for the Serbian positions were outside it.

Losnitza. I found at Losnitza the same rage for destruction which had already struek me at Chabatz. I was in this town at a time when there were neither soldiers nor civilians in it, but nevertheless shells, ineendiary or otherwise, continued to rain upon it.

The number of houses burnt by the soldiers of the army of invasion is incalcuable. Both in town and in eountry, houses have been burnt without any neecessity. At the time of my enquiry in the four divisions of the district of Chabatz alone 1,658 houses had been burnt; namely Potzerski division, 252; Matehvanski division, 457; Asboukavatzki division, 228; Iadranski division, 741. It must observed that these divisions are agrieultural divisions, and that the 1,658 houses burnt are village houses. In eonsequeence of this burning 1,748 families of the four divisions are homeless.

The deposition of the Mayor of Petkovitza, Pantelia Maritch, proves that this burning was deliberately organised by the invading army. He declares that the Austro-Hungarian soldiers had with them little tin pots. They painted with the contents of these pots the houses which they wished to set on fire and then set a light to them with matehes. Similar information was given to me in other plaees.



Massacres of prisoners and wounded soldiers.

The Austro-Hungarian army have frequently massaered Serbian soldiers who have been made prisoners. This statement is proved by the evidenece of Austrian prisoners, by the offieial reports of the Serbian military authorities, by the depositions of eye-witnesses, and finally by photographs taken on the spot. I publish below some of these depositions, in which I substitute fictitious initials for the names of my Austro-Hungarian witnesses to avoid the disagreeable

consequences which would otherwise ensue when they return to their own country.

A. X., of the 46th regiment of infantry, saw in a little wood at Preglevska Tzerkva eleven or twelve Serbian wounded asking for help. Lieutenant Nagj, of the 57th Hungarian Regiment, ordered that they should not be helped and even threatened those who wished to help them with his revolver. The Hungarian soldiers cut the throats of the wounded with their knives and bayonets.

B. X., of the 28th regiment of the line, states that not far from Kroupani a wounded Serbian was groaning under a tree. An Austrian soldier of the 27th regiment killed him with a revolver shot.

C. X., of the 78th regiment of infantry, saw at Chabatz three Hungarian soldiers (a Corporal and two soldiers) leading way a Serbian soldier who was a prisoner to shoot him.

E. X., of the 28th regiment of infantry. After an engagement near Kroupani E. X. went over the battlefield accompanied by hospital orderlies and found two wounded Serbian soldiers. He wished to take them to the Hülfsplatz (advance ambulance), but the Austrian soldiers refused to bring help to them, and a formal order was necessary to compel them to obey. E. X. accompanied the two wounded. When they passed by the 78th Hungarian regiment, the soldiers of this regiment struck the wounded with their fists; and suddenly a regular tumult broke out because the Hungarians wished to finish off the Serbian wounded with their bayonets. E. X. asked for help from the officers, who helped him to carry his protégés to the ambulance.

Mladen Simitch, native of Bobova, Serbian soldier of the 17th regiment of infantry, second company, second battalion. He was in the trenches with many other killed and wounded when the Austrians arrived. They finished off the wounded. Simitch feigned death, and afterwards succeeded in crawling away and escaping; but the Austrians saw him and fired on him.

The Commander of the first regiment of Serbian infantry reports (under date 15th October, 1914, Acte O, No. 280): Near the Schtiplane river, the Austrians took prisoners about 10 wounded men of the 5rd supernumerary regiment. The wounds of these men were dressed. When the Austrians found themselves obliged to leave their positions in consequence of the attack of the 2nd battalion of the 5rd Serbian regiment, they shot the wounded in order not to let them be



PLATE 7. — Soldiers of the second Ban killed at Iovanovatz after giving themselves up as prisoners (15th and 14th regiments: photo. taken on the 25th August 1914).

retaken alive by the Serbs. The wounded men were found with their wounds dressed, but dead.

At Iovanovatz near Chabatz, about 50 soldiers of the 2nd Ban belonging to the 15th and 14th regiments (Timok division) surrendered to the Austrians and gave up their arms to them. They were, however, all massacred by the Austro-Hungarian soldiers inside a house (plate 7). A little time afterwards the Serbs on recapturing Chabatz found a heap of corpses in the farm of Iovanovatz. Photographs were taken and wil

form a permanent record of this contravention of all the laws of war.

Sometimes the bodies of wounded soldiers were mutilated before or after their death. Photographs in the possession of the Serbian Government bear witness to this. For example, Captain J. Savitch on the 11/24 August, 1914, photographed the body of a young Serbian soldier from which the Austrians had torn off the skin of the lower jaw.

* * *

Massacres of civilians.

Depositions of Austro-Hungarian prisoners.

A. X., of the 26th Regiment, deposes as follow : He was ordered, and the order was read to the regiment, to kill and burn everybody and everything met with in the course of the campaign and to destroy everything Serbian. Commandant Stanzer and Captain Irketitch gave orders to attack the Serbian population. Before the second invasion orders were given at Yanja on the 10th September to conquer and destroy the country. The civilian population were to be taken prisoners. A peasant who showed the way to the troops was shot by Commandant Stanzer and his soldiers, who fired at him five times. On another occasion a Croatian soldier named Dochan boasted of having killed a woman, a child and two old men, and invited his comrades to come with him to see his victims.

B. X., of the 78th Regiment, states that his superiors gave orders that no one should be spared. First Lieutenant Fojtek, of the 2nd Company, said at Esseg (the garrison town of the 78th Regiment) that it was necessary to show the Serbs what Austrians are. Nothing must be spared and everyone killed.

C. X., of the 78th Regiment, states that First Lieutenant Bernhard said that everything found living must be killed.

R.-A. REISS. — Angl.

Major Belina gave permission to his men to pillage and steal everything they could find.

Corporal D. X., of the 28th Regiment of Landwehr, deposes : At Chabatz the Austrians killed near the church more than 60 civilians who had been previously shut up there. They were massacred with the bayonet to economise ammunition. The work was done by eight Hungarian soldiers. D. X. could not bear to see this sight and left the spot. The



PLATE 8. — Women and old men massacred at Krivaia.

corpses remained on the spot for two days before being buried. Among the victims were old men and children. The order for the massacre was given by the General and the Officers.

E. X., of the 6th Regiment of Infantry. The Hungarian Captain Bosnai gave orders, before crossing the frontier, that everything living should be killed from children of five to the oldest men. When the frontier had been crossed and the troops arrived at the first Serbian village, the Captain gave orders that two houses should be burned and everyone killed, even the children in the cradle. About 50 women, children and old men were taken prisoners and driven

before the troops during the fight. E. X. saw these civilians wounded or killed by the bullets of the two opposing forces. This appened at Okolischte.

F. X., of the 2nd Bosnian Regiment. His regiment marching from Lioubovia found at the third village some peasants burnt on the hay by the 100th regiment. The order for this massacre was given by Lieutenant-Colonel Krebs, of the last named regiment.

First Lieutenant Stibitch, of the 2nd regiment, made observations on the subject to Krebs and asked him the cause of



PLATE 9. — Young persons from 15 to 17 years of age massacred at the village of Glichitch. Notice the wounds at the apex of the skull and the eyes gouged out.

this barbarous execution. Krebs replied that they were comitadjis, and that besides it had nothing to do with him.

G. X., of the 28th Regiment of Infantry, deposes that during the first invasion the Austrian troops killed all the inhabitants and the wounded. Lieutenant Iekete captured 25 peasants and brought them before his captain. The latter drew them up in a line and kicked each of them. If they cried out they were shot at once.

H. X., of the 28th of the Line, states that the Hungarians devastated all the Serbian villages in Sirmia. Captain Eishhut gave orders to strike down everything living in Serbia.

Mussulman peasants from Bosnia always followed the supply train to pillage.

I. X., of the 5th Regiment of Bosnian Infantry. When his regiment arrived at Zvornik there were some civilian Serbian prisoners, women and children. *I. X.* gave them some bread, but a corporal saw him and tied him up to a tree for two hours. At Tousla there were also many Serbian civilian prisoners, especially women and children. When these women



PLATE 10. — Family massacred at Krivaia.

went through the town the Croatian soldiers spat in their faces. On the 29th September at ten in the evening, 150 fresh civilian prisoners arrived. They were old men, women and children. The women could not drag themselves along any further, and the soldiers drove them on with blows from the butts of their rifles. The soldiers of the 60th regiment had taken prisoner a young man of eighteen whom they hanged on a tree.

K. X., of the 16th Regiment of Infantry. At Dobritch, on the 16th or 17th August, *K. X.* saw soldiers of the 57th Hungarian Regiment kill eleven or twelve children from 6 to

12 years of age with their bayonets. The order for the massacre was given by First Lieutenant Nagj. K. X. was 50 or 40 yards from the soldiers who were carrying out the massacre. Lieutenant-Colonel Piskor, of the 16th Regiment, passed by at this moment and said to Nagj: « How can you be such swine? » The latter replied: « You can give orders to your own detachment but not to mine. I have orders from my superiors ».

In my collection I have also a series of depositions by other Austro-Hungarian soldiers, who had been taken prisoner by the Serbs, which recount massacres and atrocities committed on the civilian population of the invaded districts, but I believe that these few samples are enough to prove to my readers that even the Austro-Hungarian soldiers confess the crimes that have been committed by a certain number of their comrades, and, what is more important, that in the majority of cases these crimes were committed in obedience to orders given by their leaders (plates 8, 9 10).

I draw special attention to the testimony of H. X., of the 28th Line, who says that the Hungarians devastated all the Serbian villages in Sirmia, that is to say in their own territory. Other witnesses confirmed H. X.'s statements, and it appears that the Austro-Hungarian army also committed many excesses in Bosnia. In addition the following document, which was found by the 4th Supernumerary Regiment of Infantry and sent on the 25th August (old style) to the Commander of the 1st Serbian army by the Divisional Staff of the Timok Division (second Ban), proves what I have said.

K. u. K. 9 Korps Kommando.

R. N° 52.

Ruma, 14th August 1914.

By order of A. O. K. Op. Kr. 259.

In consequence of the hostile attitude of the population of Klenak(1) and Chabatz, hostages will again be taken in all the Serbian villages, etc., even those situated on this side of the

(1) Klenak is in Hungarian territory.

frontier, which are or will be occupied by the troops. These hostages are to be killed at once in case of any crime being committed by the inhabitants against the armed forces (treason) and the enemy villages are to be burnt. The Commander of the Army Corps reserves the power to burn the villages on our own territory.

This order is to be communicated without delay to the population by the civil authorities.

HORTSTEIN, *general* (1).

* * *

Some official reports by Serbian officers.

Lt Dragučica Stoiadinovitch, 2nd in Command of the 2nd Company, 1st Battalion, 15th Regiment of Infantry, reports under date of the 9/22 August as follows :

“ On the 7th and 8th August, being in command of the advance sentries, my rounds took me to the village of Zoulovitch and its neighbourhood. I saw in a ravine the bodies of 25 boys from 12 to 16 years of age, and two old men of more than 60 years, heaped one upon the other, mutilated with bayonet thrusts and pierced with bullets. Exploring a house I found in it two dead women; their corpses were riddled with bullets. In another house an old woman lay dead with her daughter. The bodies were in front of the door, half naked, with the legs apart. Near a fireplace, in which the fire had gone out, was seated an old man

(1) K. u. k. 9 Korps Kommando.
R. N^o 52.

Ruma, am 14. August 1914.

Auf Befehl des A. O. K. Op. Kr. 259. Zu Folge feindseligen Verhaltens der Bevölkerung von Klenak und Chabatz sind in allen serbischen Orten auch diesseits der Grenze, die von Truppen belegt sind oder es werden, neuerdings Geiseln auszuheben und bei der Truppe festzuhalten.

Diese sind bei Verbrechen der Einwohner gegen die Kriegsmacht (Anschläge, Verrat) sofort zu justifizieren und in diesen Falle auch die Orte des Feindeslandes niederzubrennen. Das Niederbrennen von Ortschaften auf eigenem Gebiet behält sich das Korpskommando vor.

Dieser Befehl wird durch die politischen Behörden der Bevölkerung sofort kund gemacht werden.

HORTSTEIN, *general*.

covered with bleeding wounds inflicted with bayonets, haggard and dying. He said to me : “ I do not know how it happens that I am still alive. For three days I have sat here, looking on my dead wife and child whose bodies lie before the door; after having covered us with shame they brutally bayonnetted us, and then the cowards took to flight. I alone survive, and look on this lake of blood which surrounds me without being able to move a step away’ from it. ”

“ In a courtyard, ” continues the Lieutenant, “ I found a little boy of four years old who had been thrown there after being killed. His body had been partially eaten by dogs. Near him lay a young woman, naked, between whose legs had been placed her nursing child with its throat cut. A little further on an old woman was stretched on the ground. Inside the house on an iron bed there lay contorted by the agonies of death the body of a very pretty young girl whose chemise was covered with blood. On the floor an old woman who had also been killed was just visible under a heap of carpets. On the opposite side of the village I found two old men killed before the door of a little cottage. Opposite the latter two young girls were stretched out dead. The peasants told me that the Austrians had brought all the inhabitants of both sexes, including the children to their camp and ordered them to shout “ Long live the brave Austrian Army ”, “ Long live the Emperor Francis Joseph ”, and all those who refused were shot on the spot. They told me also that the soldiers killed the peasant women for one or two dinars. In one house I found an old woman and her sixth daughters. The mother and four of the daughters were killed, the fifth was wounded and the sixth succeeded in escaping. I talked with these two survivors and during the whole day wounded women and children asked me for medical help. ”

Lieut. Ievreme Georgevitch, Drina Division, 1st Ban, reports, under date of 12/25 August, that in the Commune of Dor-nitza, Maxime Vasitch aged 55 was killed in the following way : the unfortunate man was fastened to the wheel of a

mill which was set in motion. Every time the wheel brought him round before the Austrian soldiers, the latter amused themselves by plunging their bayonets into him.

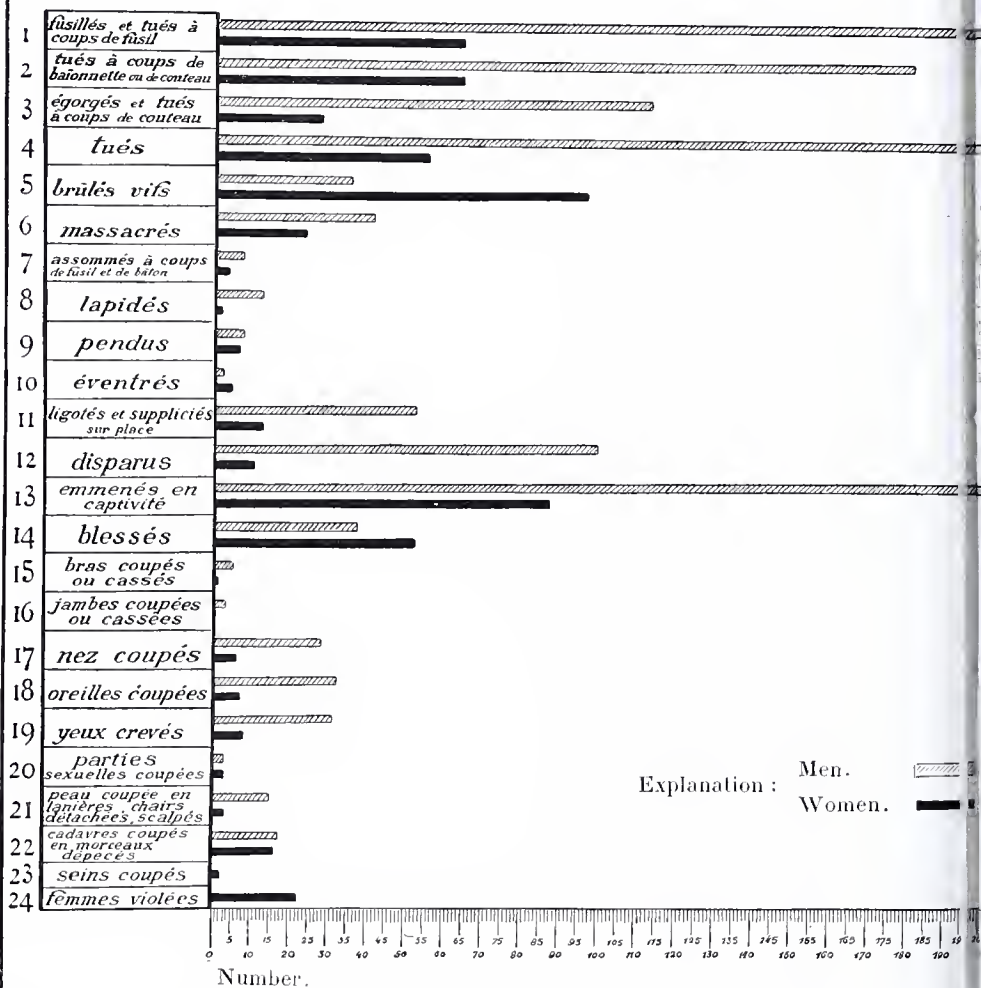
Captain Stevan Bourmasovitch, commanding the 2nd Coy, 1st Battn, 15th Regt of the 2nd Ban, reports under date 17/50 August that he himself saw at the village of Bogosavatz a whole family of eight persons who had been killed by the Austrians. An old man lay before a stable. In the courtyard of a house he saw the corpse of a man aged between 40 and 50. Another lay on the road in front of the house. Further on he saw two corpses looked together in a last embrace. A woman told him that these were a brother and sister and that they had been killed together. In one house four children had been killed. They were aged between 8 and 15. An old woman told him that many people had been taken away into captivity.

Col. Dioura Dokitch, commanding 20th Regt of Infantry of the 1st Ban, reports under date 15/26 August as follows :
“ In a meadow near the brook on the left bank of the Iadar, immediately below the inn of Krivaia, I saw the following scene : A group of children, girls, women and men, 15 in all, were stretched out dead fastened together by their hands. The majority had been killed with the bayonet. A young girl had been struck with a bayonet in the left jaw, and the blade had come out by the right cheek bone. Many of the corpses had no teeth. On the back of an old woman who was stretched out on her face there was congealed blood in which teeth were found. This old woman lay by the side of the young girl mentioned above. It seems that the old woman was killed first and the young girl immediately afterwards ; her teeth were scattered over the back of the old woman. The chemises of the little girls and young women were covered with blood, which seemed to prove that they had been violated before being killed. Near this group, but apart from it, lay three corpses of men killed by bayonet wounds in the head, neck and the chest ”.

Enquiry conducted by Professor R.-A.

Districts of POTSERIE, of MATCHV

STATISTICS

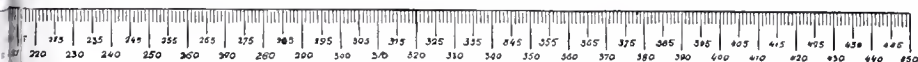


is into Austrian atrocities in Serbia 1914

the JADAR and several communes

ATROCITIES

1, Executed or otherwise shot. — 2, Bayonetted or knifed. — 3, Throats cut —
4, Killed. — 5, Burnt alive. — 6, Killed in massacres. — 7, Beaten to death with
rifles or sticks. — 8, Stoned to death. — 9, Hanged. — 10, Disembowelled. —
11, Bound and tortured on the spot. — 12, Missing. — 13, Carried off as prisoners.
— 14, Wounded. — 15, Arms cut off or broken. — 16, Legs cut off or broken. —
17, Noses cut off. — 18, Ears cut off. — 19, Eyes gouged out. — 20, Sexual parts
mutilated. — 21, Skin torn in strips, flesh or scalp removed. — 22, Corpses cut
into small pieces. — 23, Breasts cut off. — 24, Women violated.



Some evidence by civilians.

Deposition of Draga Petronievitch, 'of Chabatz, thirty-two years old, a deposition confirmed by the evidence of a number of other women in the same place.

On the 50th July (old style) three soldiers came to her house and asked her "Where is your husband". This was about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and no one came back until midnight. At this moment she was with two other women. A Captain and two men arrived and asked her for bombs and rifles. He told her that they were not bad people — "We Hungarians are not bad men," he said, "but you must hoist a white flag over your house." The next day Draga was visited by four Hungarian soldiers who ordered her to follow them. Two women with their children who had Austrian passports were left at liberty. Draga was taken to the Hotel Europa, which was already full of women, girls and children. For five days they were left there shut up without being given anything but a little bread and water. The first night passed off without any incident. On the second night some corporals and sergeants took them into a room aside and asked them "Where are your men, where are the positions, where are the troops?" When the women replied that they did not know they were beaten with blows of the butts. (Two months afterwards Draga Petronievitch had not recovered from the blows she received).

On the following nights soldiers entered the rooms where the women were sleeping and carried off the young girls, one carrying the head and another the feet. If they cried handkerchiefs were stuffed into their mouths; this happened often. From the Hotel Europa the women were taken across to the Hotel Casino and thence to the church where there were already many people. When the church was bombarded by the Serbians, who were returning, the unhappy women were ordered to shout "Long live Hungary". Offi

cers violated young girls behind the altar. While the bombardment went on the Austrians placed the poor women in the streets, exposing them so that they might be killed by the Serbian shells. Finally they were shut up in the stables of the gendarmerie, and they were there when they were rescued by the Serbians. The Austrians had intended to take them into Austria, but the Serbian artillery had destroyed the bridge and the next day it was too late. The Serbians were there! Some girls had been taken in the evening to the officers and the next day they returned richly dressed with spoil from the wardrobes of the looted houses. Draga gives a list of the names of young girls who had been violated among whom was a child of 14.

Milena Stoitch, aged 16, and Vera Stotch, aged 14, were taken by the Austrians with many other women. They believed there were about 2000. Some of these prisoners were shut up and the rest taken with the troops. The two girls with their grandmother Ievrasima Stoitch, aged 65, were among the latter. They were compelled to march in front of the soldiers from 1-50 to 7 o'clock in the evening. From time to time the detachment fired and the women were ordered to lie down on an order given in Hungarian. The wife of the chemist Gaitech translated the orders. Among these women there were two or three who had been confined two days before. When the Austrians returned to Chabatz several shots were fired by the sentries, and the soldiers of Serbian blood shouted to them "Get out of this quick". The soldiers of Hungarian or German blood cried to them "We do not want to kill you. It is your own troops who will kill you".

Savko Bochkovitch, of Ribari, aged 65, has two wounds in his chest and three in the right arm. I examined these wounds and found they were inflicted by a bayonet. When the Austrians arrived they called him and led him into the courtyard of his house where there were already two other men — Jivan and Ostoia Maletitch, aged 55 and 65. The so -

diers bayoneted the two Maletitch, and wounded Bochkovitch, who fell and feigned death. He owed his life to this ruse. All over the village there were corpses. The soldiers who committed the massacre did not understand Serbian. Later on another detachment passed through which appeared to be composed of Czechs, who did no harm. The Austro-Hungarians never drank water without first having it tasted.

Lioubomir Tarlanovitch, aged 18, was wounded with the bayonet in the back and the right side, and I have examined the wounds. After having been wounded he succeeded in escaping into a field of maize where he was fired at without being hit. His brother *Michaïlo*, aged 16, was in the street at the time when the soldiers arrived. A soldier at once wounded him with a bayonet thrust. *Michaïlo* fell and the soldiers attacked him furiously, wounding him in fifteen places. *Stevania Bochkovitch*, aged 40, saw the incident and confirms *Lioubomir's* statements. The two sons of *Tarlanovitch's* cousin were also killed.

Milan Despotovitch, aged 65, of *Dobritch Donie*, declares that he was with three old men more than 60 years of age and a young boy of 15. The Austrian soldiers bound them together and led them to the village of Schor. There the soldiers put them up against a house and tied them so that they could not move. The house was then set on fire, but by a miracle the flames did not reach the victims.

They were then taken to Losnitza, but on the way rifle shots were fired and the soldiers fled into the maize. They returned and killed *Despotovitch's* companions with the bayonet. He himself succeeded in escaping. At Schor, when the soldiers were preparing to burn them, they prayed their executioners to kill them outright, but the latter replied that they wished to torture them first.

Svetko Baitch, aged 40, of *Dobritch Donie*, deposes that 16 people were killed in his village. The soldiers cut off the nose and ears of *Jivko Spasoievitch*, aged 60, and then

killed him. Savko Jivanovitch and Ivan Alimpitch, aged 67, suffered the same fate. Pavle Kovatchevitch's face was completely cut to pieces, and he was then shot. Boschko Kovatchevitch, aged 56, had his two hands cut off and his teeth knocked out. The woman Krsmania Vaselitch, aged 62, whose son was killed, begged the soldiers with tears to spare her; she was none the less wounded with bayonet thrusts and I examined the wounds on her arm and hand. Eight persons were taken away whose fate remains uncertain. These massacres took place on the 1st August in the morning. The murderers were soldiers who did not speak Serbian.

Persida Simovitch, aged 27, inn-keeper of *Kroupanj*. An Austrian Staff with a General and a Major or Colonel was quartered in her inn. She was asked at once to give up "her bombs". They said to her "in your country in Serbia even the women have bombs; give us the bombs". A doctor asked her for eggs for the General. She had none, but in the town she found one which she gave to the doctor. The latter advised her to give it personally to the General who talked Serbian. Persida believes that she owes to this egg the fact that her house was spared. The Major or Colonel was very harsh. Directly the soldiers brought up a peasant he gave the order "to the gallows". She saw 20 peasants hanged before her house. Before hanging them the soldiers beat them violently with the butt end of their rifles and searched them. Usually the bodies were only left hanging until the graves were ready, but one of them remained hanging a whole day. The victims were old men and young people. Persida asked one of the soldiers (Croatians, Germans or Hungarians) who talked Serbian, why they acted in this way. The reply was "we have orders to do so". Four officers also were lodged in her house, and they ordered her to sew together little bags to hold the money taken from those who had been hanged and the prisoners, and that which came from the sack of the town. When she asked them why they took money in this way, the officers told her

that the war cost a great deal and that this money would help their country to bear the expense. The same officers sent her out to look for wine, which she paid for with her own money. They did not pay her back, although they ate and drank all her provisions.

Jacob Zwdeinovitch, a peasant of *Banjevatz*, was taken to *Bielina* on the 4th August with his children by the Austrians. Other peasants with their children were also taken there. *Zwdeinovitch* was sent back into Serbia by the Austrians on condition that he should return on the 16th August and make certain reports on the positions of the Serbian troops. If he did not return his children would be killed. He gave himself up to the Serbian authorities, and does not know what has become of his children.

* * *

Some results of my personal enquiry.

I went through a great part of the Serbian territory which had suffered from the first Austro-Hungarian invasion. Everywhere I have verified so far as possible the statements made to me by witnesses. In the following pages I will set out some typical facts as established by my enquiry. The complete results of this enquiry are contained in a Report which will shortly be handed in to the Serbian Government.

I have already mentioned the deposition of Corporal D. X., of the 28th Regiment of Infantry, who stated that he had been present at the massacres of 60 civilians near the church at *Chabatz*. I ascertained that there was in fact a large common pit behind the church of *Chabatz*, and I had it opened. The pit was 10 metres long and 5 metres 50 wide. At a depth of one metre a quantity of corpses heaped together in different positions were disclosed. Some had their feet uppermost, others lay on their sides, or were doubled up (plate 11).

Everything showed that the bodies were covered with earth just as they fell into the pit. How many of those who were thus buried were alive at the time? The clothes on the bodies, which were still in perfect condition, showed that they were peasants. The arms were bound with rope. The age of the victims, to judge by the bodies, varied between 10 and 80. It was impossible to determine exactly the number



PLATE 11. — Pit opened behind the church of Chabatz. Notice the position of the corpses (legs uppermost) and the rope attached to the arms of one of the victims.

of people buried in this grave. D. X. says that there were more than 60. The inhabitants of Chabatz allege that there were 120. I have personally ascertained that there were at least 80.

At Lipoliste, when the Austrians approached, some villagers took refuge in the house of Thodor Marinkovitch. The soldiers as they passed fired their rifles into the house through the doors and windows; five of the refugees were killed; namely : Thodor Marinkovitch, 60 years of age; Marco Marinkovitch, 19; Rutschika Marinkovitch, 20; Milou-

tine Stoikovitch, 48; Zagorka Stoikovitch, 44; five others were wounded — Dragomir Marinkovitch, 48; Stanoika Marinkovitch, 60; Bogoliud Chataritch, 40; Mila Savkoitch, 6; Marta Stoikovitch, 40. I examined the house and I found several bullet holes in the door and windows and the inside walls. All these shots had been fired from outside the house. I examined and noted the wounds of the surviving victims which were partly healed.

At Petkovitza 24 women and children and six men took refuge in the house of Milan Maritch, which is more solidly built than the others. The Austro-Hungarians made the women come out and massacred the men with their revolvers in a room. Their bodies were searched, and amongst other things a watch and 100 francs were taken from that of Milan Maritch. I found on the floor of the room where the massacre took place, many marks of bullets fired from above; I also found bullet marks on the walls of the same room.

The Austro-Hungarians committed a very great number of excesses in the village of Preniavor, one of the richest in the Matchva. When their troops arrived there, the Commander collected the population together, drew from his pocket a list of the members of the "Narodna Odbrana", the Serbian Patriotic Society, made them step out from the ranks, and had them shot. The men who had been wounded in the two previous wars, and shewed their invalid certificates, were also shot as well as the men who did not answer the Commander's summons. About 500 women were shut up in this inn, and many young women and young girls were violated.

Milan Miloutinovitch's house was totally destroyed by fire. Another building next to it was also burnt. On one of the walls which still remained standing I found many blood-stains and bullet marks. The shape of these stains, which were in very long splashes, showed that the blood had been thrown violently against the wall. A great number of eye-witnesses assure me that the Austrian soldiers brought

there more than 100 women and children, and after murdering them in different ways flung the bodies into Miloutinovitch's burning house.

I searched through the debris of this house and found a great number of human bones carbonised or calcinated. The peasants had already buried the largest pieces in a neighbouring pit. I had this pit opened and ascertained



PLATE 12. — Schoolroom at Preniavor where 17 victims were burnt after being wounded. Notice the splashes of blood on the wall.

that in fact it held a very great quantity of human remains.

At the school at Prenavior 17 persons, most of whom were old people, were burnt in one of the rooms. I inspected the burnt school and found in the room mentioned many large splashes of blood on the walls, and among the carbonised material I found numerous human bones. This proves that the victims were wounded before being burnt (plate 12).

By the side of Michailo Miloutinovitch's house, I opened a common pit containing about 20 corpses. At the top, scarcely covered by the earth, I found the arm of a child of

two or three years of age, still wearing a cheap bracelet of glass beads. On digging deeper I saw the remains of the bodies of women and of children under 10 years of age.

Vladimir Preisevitch, aged 42, owns a house near the church at the place called Zrkvena mala. He had taken in a Serbian trooper who had been severely wounded in an engagement. When the Austrians arrived, Preisevitch took to flight, thinking that they would spare the wounded man. When he came back he found the body of the wounded man tied to the bed and carbonised, the Austrians having lit a fire under it. I inspected the bed which is of iron, and bears very evident traces of fire; the floor underneath it is burnt away over a space measuring one metre by two, and the wall is smoked and blackened.

Near the railway station of Preniavor, a common pit contains the corpses of 25 persons between 20 and 50 years of age, shot by the Austrians. Among the victims there were several women and a certain number of young men who had been invalided from the preceding wars. The Chaplain of the First Regiment, Milan Iovanovitch, who buried the victims, gave me their exact names. I also possess among my documents the names of those who were massacred at Preniavor.

Near the railway station at Lechnitza, there is a large common pit 20 metres long, 5 metres broad, and 2 metres deep. In this pit are buried 109 peasants aged between 8 and 80. They were hostages from the neighbouring villages whom the Austro-Hungarians brought to this place where they had already begun to dig their grave. They were bound together with ropes and encircled by a wire. Then the soldiers took their places on the slope of the railway embankment, about 15 metres from the victims, and fired a volley at them. All of them fell down into the pit, and other soldiers immediately covered them with earth, without ascertaining whether they were dead or only wounded. It is certain that many of them were not mortally

wounded, and some perhaps were not wounded at all, but they were dragged into the grave by the others. They were buried alive. While this execution was going on, a second group of prisoners was brought up, among whom were many women, and when the first party were shot these poor people were forced to shout " Long live Emperor Francis Joseph ". I had this pit opened, and I have satisfied myself



PLATE 15. — The woman Soldatovitch (aged 78) killed and mutilated at Bastave.

by the position of the corpses that the bodies fell pell-mell into the hole. The fact that several corpses were upright seems to show that these victims tried to escape from the pit. The arms of the corpses were bound round with rope.

At Bastave Austro-Hungarian soldiers committed an unspeakable crime which I have been able to investigate by the oral examination of eye-witnesses, the inspection of the spot and photographs of the victims which are in my possession. At the approach of the Austrians the women and children of the village fled to the " Brickfield ". The only

people who remained behind were two infirm women named Soldatovitch, aged 65 and 78. They believed that even the most cruel enemy would spare sick old women. When the peasants returned to the village after the departure of the troops, they found one in her bed and the other behind the door of their room, both of them killed and mutilated. The breasts were cut off and the bodies bore many traces of wounds inflicted with a bayonet or a knife (plate 15). Michaelo Mladenovitch states that the women, who in accordance with the Serbian custom washed the bodies before burial, discovered that the two victims had been violated before being killed.

The few cases cited will be enough to enable the reader to form an idea of the refinements of cruelty with which the Austro-Hungarians have massacred a great part of the civilian population of the invaded territories. In addition, a very large number of civilians have been taken away of whom no news has since been received. Judging by the Austrian "methods" of the *Strafexpeditionen* it is very probable that large numbers of hostages have been killed on the way.

I have several times already spoken of wounded civilians who have succeeded in escaping. I will here only quote two typical examples :

Stanislas Theodorovitch is 15 years old ; he belongs to Mrzenovatz. He was herding cattle when the Austrians arrived. With 5 other peasants, 5 of whom were old men, he was led, bound to the others by ropes, to the Save. Thence they were taken into the interior of the country and at a given moment were all placed on a hay stack, and the soldiers fired on them from a distance of about 4 or 5 metres. Theodorovitch was wounded in the head and in the arm. The wounds in his head necessitated trepanning, and the operation was carried out at the civil hospital of Valievo. It was there that I saw and examined the patient.

Stana Bergitch, aged 68, was at Ravagne in her house

when the Austrians arrived. They killed her whole family, consisting of 8 persons, before her eyes, and broke both her arms with blows from the butts of their rifles. She was attended to at the Russian Hospital of Valievo, where I examined her.

At the time of my enquiry 1508 corpses of civilians had been found and identified in the villages and little towns through which I passed. In addition, 2280 civilians had disappeared. Knowing the " habits " of the invaders it may be assumed that at least one-half of those hostages was killed. At this moment part of the district of Chabatz (the greatest part of the Radievski Divisions and a part of the divisions of Iadranski and Absoukovatzki) were still in the hands of the Austrians and, consequently, the full total of the dead could not be ascertained exactly. Further I did not visit all the communes where similar excesses were committed. At the time I estimated that the number of civilians killed in the invaded territory must amount to between three and four thousand.

Official information since received appears to confirm this estimate. The official lists of the civilians who have been massacred are as yet far from being complete. Still it is already possible to form some idea of the extent of the calamity in those of the divisions in which the work of counting the killed and missing has been completed. For instance, in the circles of Iadar, Potserie and Matchva, the number of the killed is 4255. Arranging them according to the age of the victims the following result is obtained :

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----|------------|----|------------|----|------------|----|
| Less than 1 year | 8 | 9 years.. | 1 | 18 years.. | 59 | 27 years.. | 15 |
| 1 year.. | 5 | 10 years.. | 5 | 19 years.. | 35 | 28 years.. | 14 |
| 2 years.. | 6 | 11 years.. | 5 | 20 years.. | 24 | 29 years.. | 4 |
| 3 years.. | 15 | 12 years.. | 17 | 21 years.. | 29 | 30 years.. | 29 |
| 4 years.. | 6 | 13 years.. | 7 | 22 years.. | 8 | 31 years.. | 9 |
| 5 years.. | 10 | 14 years.. | 17 | 23 years.. | 8 | 32 years.. | 10 |
| 6 years.. | 9 | 15 years.. | 16 | 24 years.. | 7 | 33 years.. | 4 |
| 7 years.. | 8 | 16 years.. | 28 | 25 years.. | 27 | 34 years.. | 5 |
| 8 years.. | 6 | 17 years.. | 50 | 26 years.. | 12 | 35 years.. | 19 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----|------------|----|------------|----|---------------|----|
| 56 years.. | 8 | 50 years.. | 65 | 64 years.. | 16 | 79 years.. | 2 |
| 57 years.. | 7 | 51 years.. | 15 | 65 years.. | 56 | 80 years.. | 9 |
| 58 years.. | 15 | 52 years.. | 28 | 66 years.. | 5 | 81 years.. | 1 |
| 59 years.. | 7 | 53 years.. | 25 | 67 years.. | 6 | 82 years.. | 1 |
| 40 years.. | 51 | 54 years.. | 51 | 68 years.. | 14 | 85 years.. | 1 |
| 41 years.. | 8 | 55 years.. | 55 | 69 years.. | 4 | 85 years.. | 1 |
| 42 years.. | 7 | 56 years.. | 29 | 70 years.. | 55 | 86 years.. | 1 |
| 45 years.. | 2 | 57 years.. | 15 | 71 years.. | 5 | 89 years.. | 1 |
| 44 years.. | 4 | 58 years.. | 42 | 72 years.. | 5 | 90 years.. | 4 |
| 45 years.. | 55 | 59 years.. | 15 | 75 years.. | 1 | 92 years.. | 1 |
| 46 years.. | 8 | 60 years.. | 79 | 74 years.. | 7 | 95 years.. | 2 |
| 47 years.. | 11 | 61 years.. | 12 | 75 years.. | 12 | Age unknown.. | 28 |
| 48 years.. | 55 | 62 years.. | 24 | 76 years.. | 1 | | |
| 49 years.. | 19 | 65 years.. | 8 | 78 years.. | 2 | | |

Among these victims are 288 women.

The number of those who have disappeared is 554. These were carried away by the Austro-Hungarian troops and nothing has since been heard of them. Among them are a considerable number of women and children.

The kinds of death chosen by the executioners were very varied.

Very often the victims were mutilated before or after death. The following methods of killing and mutilating I have established by evidence : the victims were shot, killed by the bayonet, their throats were cut with knives, they were violated and then killed, stoned to death, hanged, beaten to death with the butt-end of rifles or sticks, disembowelled, burnt alive, or their legs or arms were cut or torn off, their ears or noses cut off, their eyes put out, their breasts cut off, their skin cut in strips or the flesh torn from the bone; lastly a little girl of three months was thrown to the pigs.

In excuse the Austro-Hungarians have alleged that the civilian population of Serbia fired on their troops and that they were in consequence compelled to have recourse to these executions. This excuse is valueless, for in the first place one has only to cast one's eye over the statistical table set out above to see how many of those included in it are

children under ten, old men over sixty, and women, who certainly did not take an active part in the struggle. Secondly I have satisfied myself that about half of the civilians who were killed were not put to death by rifle firing but by blows with the butt-end of the rifle or the bayonet, and that many of them were mutilated in addition. An army which respects the rules of war would never stoop to carry out any execution which had become necessary otherwise than by a firing party, for the worst that can be said against the civilian combatants is that they were defending their country. Finally I found a considerable number of civilians who had been wounded (often very severely it is true) but not killed. If the Austrian statements were true, one would be forced to the conclusion that the enemies of the Serbians had invented a form of semi-execution consisting in wounding without killing.



Pillage and destruction of property.

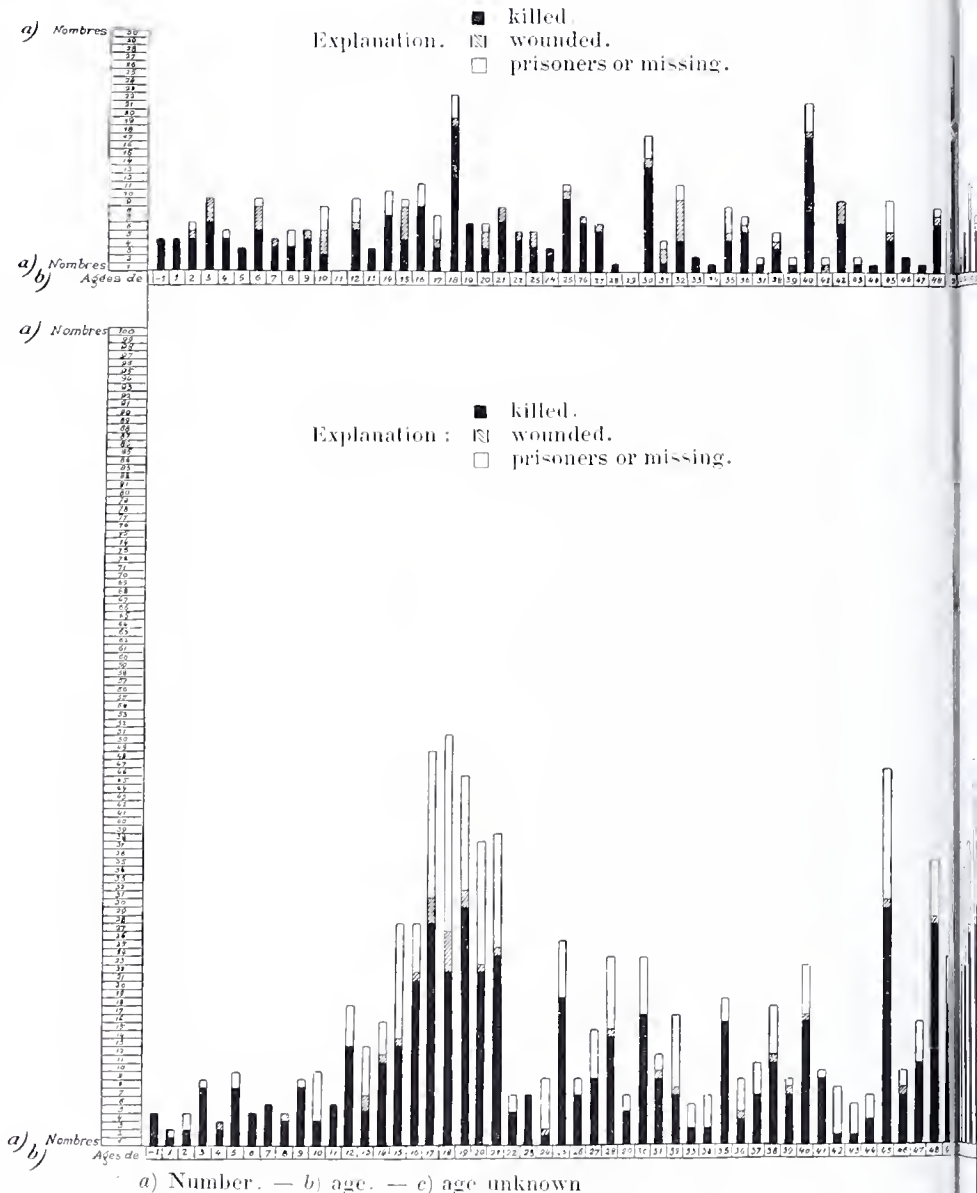
Wherever the invading troops have passed, everything has been pillaged and all moveable property has been destroyed. All objects of value have been carried away and safes broken open.

In the town of Chabatz more than 1000 safes were opened and emptied of their contents. I could only find in the town two safes which remained unbroken, and marks were observed upon them which showed clearly that an unsuccessful attempt had been made to open them. The large total of safes is explained by the fact that these receptacles are much used in Serbia.

Sometimes the safes were forced with extraordinary skill. For example I photographed at the Chabatzka Sadruka Bank three safes which had been cut open with a professional skill that would excite the jealousy of an expert burglar. Usually the safes, which are of very inferior quality (espe-

Enquiry conducted by Professor R.-A. F.

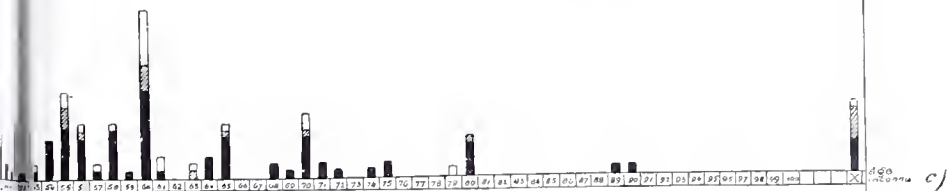
Districts of POTSERIE, of MATCHVA



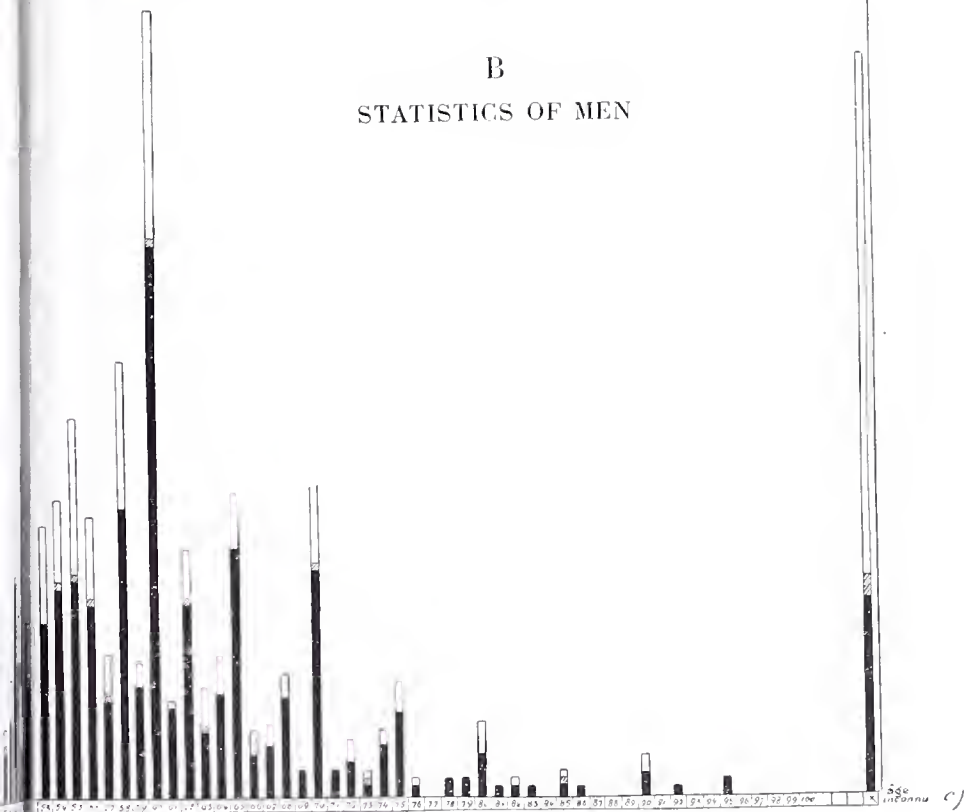
is into Austrian atrocities in Serbia 1914

the JADAR and several communes

A STATISTICS OF WOMEN



B STATISTICS OF MEN



cially those made in Vienna), were broken in by blows with an axe or by a cold chisel. The typical sign indicating that Austro-Hungarian troops have passed by is a rifled safe lying in the middle of the street.

I examined a very large number of houses, both in town and country, which had been visited by the Austrians. Everywhere I noted that the valuable objects had disappeared, while furniture, wardrobes and linen which could not be carried away were destroyed. Pictures and upholstered furniture are smashed, carpets cut to pieces, crockery broken. The walls are splashed with ink, and the soldiers have left excrement everywhere.

A few examples will illustrate what I have just said :

In the house of Jakob Albala of Chabatz, Poterska Ulitza, everything was broken and ruined. The safe was rifled and the papers of no commercial value which it contained were scattered over the floor. The furniture and crockery were broken, the pictures mutilated. Wearing apparel was taken out of wardrobes, torn and dirtied. All the valuable objects have disappeared. Albala had a fortune of more than 150 000 francs which was deposited in the safe. He fled from Chabatz, and, on learning what had happened in his house, he died of an apoplectic fit. I found his will on the ground. In it he left his whole fortune to the poor of Chabatz without any distinction of religious belief.

Three Hungarian officers were lodged in the house of Dragonir Petrovitch, an Advocate and the Captain of Reserves at Chabatz. They carried away all the silver, notably 48 sets of spoons and forks, and the jewellery and clothes of Mme Petrovitch. The furniture was split open, the clothes torn, the wardrobes and mirrors broken. The carriage was seriously damaged and the papers in M. Petrovitch's office lay scattered on the ground. One night, towards midnight, the officers had the safe carried into the courtyard by their orderlies and had it broken upon. They took out over 10 000 francs worth of stock which it contained.

Everywhere, even on the dining table. they left filth behind them.

I mention as an interesting detail that when the officers returned in the evening they undressed and put on Madame Petrovitch's dresses. Pillagers and perverts !

In the house of the *pope* of Bresiak, Maxime Vidakovitch, the Austro-Hungarian soldiers broke and destroyed everything after having taken away all objects of value. Among the thing broken were four sewing machines with which the " pope's " daughter used to teach sewing to the village girls. I found the following inscription written over the door of a room : " Pope ! if you come back again see what the " Schwabas " (the name given to the Austrians by the Serbians) have done ".

The wife of the mayor of Bresiak is a native of Berlin and passed her youth in Austria. Everything in her house likewise was stolen or rifled. The family was in easy circumstances and owned very fine furniture and pictures. The furniture was broken, the pictures torn, the linen and silver carried away, the safe broken open. The lady fled with her children when the Austrians arrived. They tried to find her in order to kill her. They bore a special grudge against her husband whom they proposed to " roast ". She is very indignant at what the Allies of her native country have done, and told me that although she had formerly been proud of her German origin she is now ashamed of it.

The school of Petkovitza has been completely sacked. The communal archives which it contained are destroyed. The school benches have been overturned or broken, the maps torn and the portraits of King Peter and Prince Alexander torn to ribbons : the schoolmaster's room was pillaged.

The shop of Milorad Petrovitch at Iarebitze was completely sacked. The goods, so far as they have not been carried away, were scattered on the ground and ruined by the paint which the soldiers found in the shop. A sewing machine was broken and the safe, as usual, rifled.

Many fruit trees have been cut down; fruit is one of the sources of wealth of Serbia.

I could go on enumerating hundreds of cases of pillage which I have investigated personally. But it is useless to do so since this would merely be a continual repetition of what I have just said. I must however, lay stress on the fact that wherever the invading troops passed I found filth. Faecal matter was found on the tables, in the crockery, on the floor etc. It would appear that this is a special form of sadism.

* * *

The causes of the Austro-Hungarian cruelties.

After having investigated all these cruelties and atrocities it was a matter of interest to attempt to ascertain their cause. Having known the Austrian people in time of peace and found them, and especially the Viennese, to be apparently of a gentle disposition, I was very much surprised to see that they could commit such excesses in time of war. I therefore endeavoured by questioning prisoners and other methods of enquiry to find out the causes of this change of attitude. I believe the following explanation to be the true one.

Powerful Austria-Hungary had for a long time made up her mind to crush the little democratic Serbian people enamoured of their liberty. Free Serbia was drawing to herself the Austro-Hungarian subjects of Serbian race, and what is more barred the way to Salonika which Austria coveted. It was however necessary to prepare the people of the dual monarchy for this destruction of their inconvenient neighbour. With this object the Austro-Hungarian Press, faithfully supported by the German Press, commenced a systematic campaign of slander against the Serbians. Anyone who read the Austro-Hungarian papers would think that there was no people more barbarous or more execrable than the

Serbians. Savages, thieves, regicides al ready, these detested Serbians were now committing massacres. They were cutting off the noses and ears of their prisoners, putting out their eyes: and mutilating them. Even serious papers repeated such statements as these.

But to prepare the public by means of the Press did not suffice to fill the soldiery with terror of Serbian barbarism. Accordingly the officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, lost no opportunity of drilling into their soldiers the atrocities which it was alleged the Serbians committed on their prisoners. All the Austro-Hungarians taken by the Serbians have assured me that their officers told them that they must not allow themselves to be captured, as the Serbians would murder them. Even the officers believed this fairy-tale. For example, a First Lieutenant admitted to me that at the moment when he was taken, he had pulled out his revolver to shoot himself through fear of being tortured by the Serbians. The instinct of self-preservation got the upper hand, and he added: " I am now very glad that I did not do it, for Colonel Ilitch " (this Colonel pays particular attention to prisoners of war) " is a real father to us ".

The Austro-Hungarian soldiers, when they reached Serbian territory and found themselves in the presence of these people, who had always been described to them as barbarians, were afraid, and they probably committed their first cruelties through fear, so as not to be massacred themselves. But the sight of blood produced the effect that I have often had occasion to observe; man becomes changed into a blood-thirsty animal. A real outburst of collective sadism took possession of those troops — a sadism which those who have been present at a bull-fight have had an opportunity of observing on a small scale. Once the blood-thirsty and licentious animal was unloosed and set free by his superiors, the work of devastation was carried out by men who are fathers of families and probably gentle in their private life.

The responsibility for these acts of cruelty does not rest

then upon the soldiers in the ranks, victims of the wild beast instincts which lies dormant in every man, but on their superior officers, who have made no effort to restrain these tendencies; I will go so far as to say that they have aroused them. What I have already written, as well as the statements of the Austro-Hungarian soldiers which I have published, show the *systematic preparation* for the massacres by officers of superior rank. The following extracts taken from a pamphlet issued by the higher command and distributed among the soldiers afford even better proof of this preparation.

This fantastic document whose German text I translate literally, begins as follows :

K. u. K. 9 Korps Kommando.

Directions for conduct towards the population in Serbia.

The war brings us into a country inhabited by a population animated by fanatical hate against us, into a country where murder, as the catastrophe of Sarajevo has proved, is recognised even by the upper classes who glorify it as heroism.

Towards such a population all humanity and all kindness of heart are out of place; they are even harmful, for any consideration, such as it is sometimes possible to show in war, would in this case endanger our own troops.

Consequently I order that during the whole course of the war the greatest severity, the greatest harshness and the greatest mistrust be observed towards everyone (1).

(1) K. u. K. 9. Korpskommando.

Direktionen für das Verhalten gegenüber der Bevölkerung in Serbien.

Der Krieg führt uns in ein Feindesland, das von einer mit fanatischem Hass gegen uns erfüllten Bevölkerung bewohnt ist, in ein Land, wo der Meuchelmord, wie auch die Katastrophe in Sarajevo zeigt, selbst den höher stehenden Klassen erlaubt gilt, wo er gerade als Heldentum gefeiert wird.

Einer solche Bevölkerung gegenüber ist jede Humanität und Weichherzigkeit höchst unangebracht, ja gerade verderblich, weil diese, sonst im Kriege ab und zu möglichen Rücksichten, hier die Sicherheit der eigenen Truppen schwer gefährden.

Ich befehle daher, dass während der ganzen kriegerischen Aktion die grösste Strenge, die grösste Härte und das grösste Misstrauen gegen jedermann zu walten hat.

This is written by an Austrian General representing a Government who attempted, as is well known, to send to the scaffold a number of people, on the evidence of forged documents which had been manufactured at their own legation at Belgrade (1)!

The document goes on as follows :

In the first place I will not allow inhabitants of the enemy's country, armed but not in uniform, who are met either alone or in groups, to be taken prisoners. No consideration is to prevent their execution (2).

The Austro-Hungarian general staff knew, like everybody else, that the Serbian soldiers of the third Ban and a good half of the soldiers of the second Ban have never received uniform. The order in the " directions " is therefore an undisguised incitement to massacre these soldiers, an incitement which has been followed out to the letter by the troops.

Further on, on the subject of hostages, we find these words :

In going through a village, they (i. e. the hostages) are to be conducted if possible until the *queue* (*sic*) has passed through, and they will be executed without any question if a single shot is fired on the troops in the neighbourhood (5).

The officers and soldiers will keep a rigorous watch over every inhabitant and will not allow him to put his hand in his pocket, which probably conceals a weapon. In general they will observe the greatest severity and harshness.

The ringing of bells is absolutely forbidden and the bells are to be unhung; in general every steeple is to be occupied by a patrol.

Divine service is only to be permitted at the request of the inhabitants and only in the open air in front of the church. No sermon is to be permitted on any condition.

(1) See the Appendix, p. 49.

(2) Zunächst dulde ich nicht, dass nicht uniformierte, aber bewaffnete Leute des Feindeslandes, werden sie nun in Gruppen oder einzeln angetroffen, gefangen werden; sie sind unbedingt niederzumachen.

(5) This is in express contradiction to the Hague Convention of 1908 which was signed by Austria-Hungary.

A platoon ready to fire will be kept near the church during divine service.

Every inhabitant who is found outside a village, especially in the woods, will be looked upon as a member of a band who has hidden his weapons, which we have no time to look for. Such people are to be executed if they appear in the slightest degree suspicious (1).

Here is an incitement to murder. Every man met in the fields is a *comitadji* who is to be killed!

This document, which I can only describe as an incitement to the massacre of the civilian population, ends with the following words :

Once more discipline, dignity (?), but the greatest severity and harshness (2).

It is now possible for my readers to understand the massacres and cruelties committed by the Austro-Hungarian invading army.

These " directions " are an indictment against those who composed them. In the interests of humanity, in which I have not yet lost faith, it cannot be that these men will fail to expiate their crime!

(1) Beim Durchmarsch nehme man sie möglichst bis zum Passieren der Queue mit und mache sie unbedingt nieder, wenn auch nur ein Schuss in der Ortschaft auf die Truppe fällt.

Offiziere und Soldaten fassen jeden Einwohner stets scharf ins Auge, dulden keine Hand in der Tasche, welche voraussichtlich eine Waffe birgt, und treten überhaupt stets mit der grössten Strenge und Härte auf.

Keine Glocke darf läuten, nötigenfalls sind die Glocken abzunehmen; überhaupt ist jeder Kirchturm durch eine Patrouille zu besetzen.

Gottesdienst nur über Bitte der Ortsbewohner und nur im Freien vor der Kirche, jedoch unter keiner Bedingung eine Predigt.

Während des Gottesdienstes eine schussfertige Abteilung in der Nähe der Kirche.

In jedem Einwohner, den man ausserhalb der Ortschaft, besonders aber in Waldungen trifft, sehe man nichts anderes als Bandenmitglieder, welche ihre Waffen irgendwo versteckt haben; diese zu suchen haben wir keine Zeit; man mache diese Leute, wenn sie halbwegs verdächtig erscheinen, nieder.

(2) Nochmals : Mannszucht, Würde, aber grösste Strenge und Härte.

APPENDIX

TRIAL OF AGRAM

The Austrian documents referred to on page 47 are those which were produced at the trial of Zagreb (Agram) March-October 1909. On the information of an *agent-provocateur*, Nastitch, the Ban of Croatia, acting by order of the Government of Vienna, caused the arrest of 58 persons whom he accused, on evidence of a most flimsy character, of working in connivance with the Cabinet of Belgrade to bring about the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The trial, which was conducted in a most scandalous manner and provoked the indignation of the whole of Europe, had been instituted by the Chancellor, Baron d'Aerenthal, who, at the time of the annexation of Bosnia, attempted to compromise Serbia and incite public opinion against her. The Deputies of the Diet of Croatia brought a charge of libel before the Court of Vienna against the historian Friedjung (one of the signatories of the manifesto of the German intellectuals), who had denounced them in the *Neue Freie Presse* as being guilty of high treason. It was proved before the Court of Vienna by positive and incontestable evidence that the documents, on which Friedjung based his assertion and which had been communicated to him by the office of the Chancellor, were forged by a certain Vasitch by order of Count Forgach, the Austrian Minister in Serbia. Friedjung was compelled to acknowledge his mistake. M. d'Aerenthal, questioned before the Committee, had, on his part, tacitly to admit his responsibility. He declared that he had never believed in the authenticity of these documents. « If » remarks M. Steed (« La Monarchie des Habsbourgs », French translation, page 591) « Russia had not again given her support to Serbia, whereby war was avoided, there would no longer have been any hope of throwing light on the schemes of Aerenthal, for Austria would have invaded Serbia and caused the execution, under martial law, of the Serbo-Croatians whom the forged documents accused of treason ».

Count Forgach who, in the month of August 1914 was the principal collaborator of Count Berchtold, renewed, after the assassination of François Ferdinand, the very same schemes which had miscarried in 1909.

